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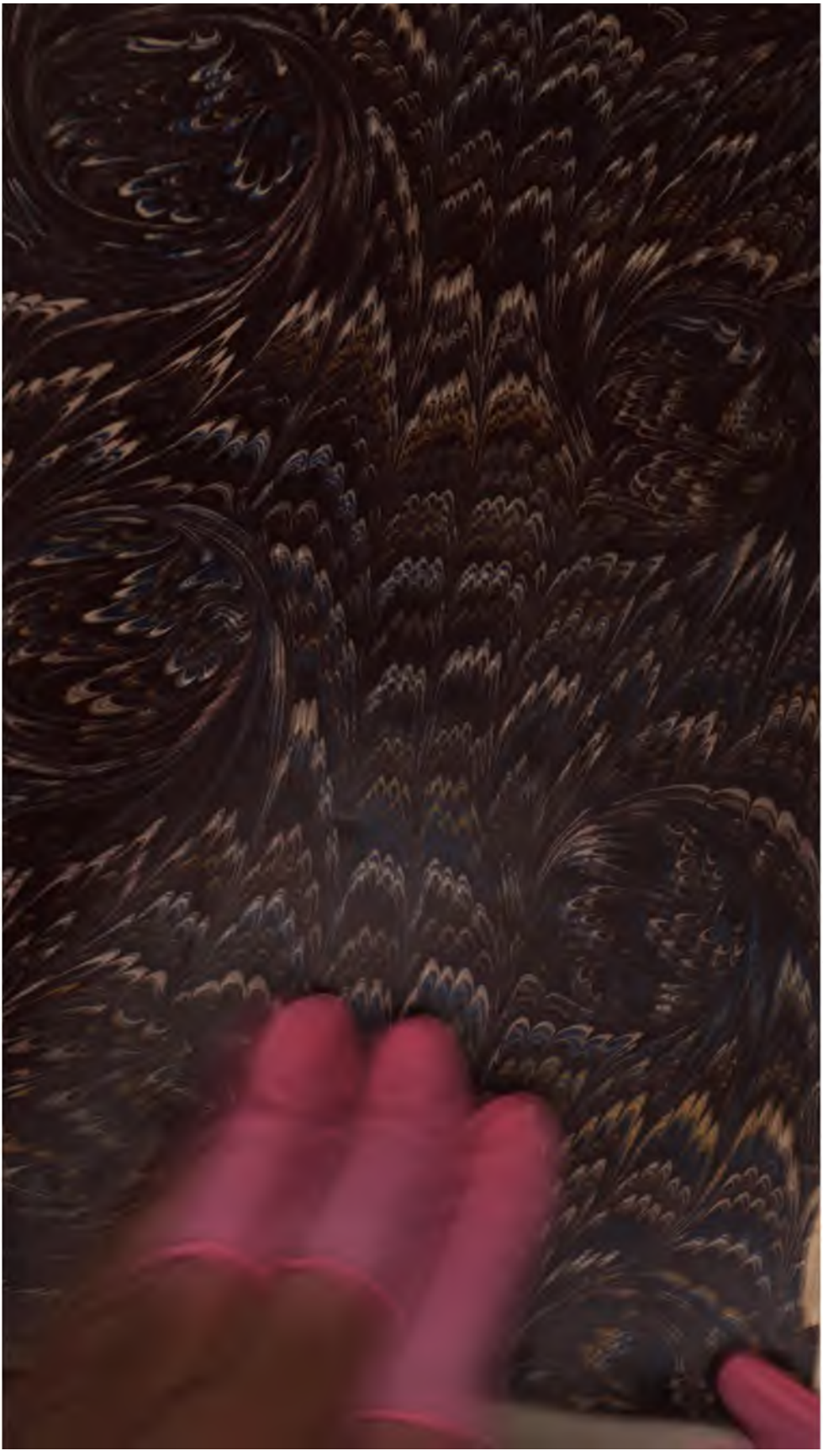

THE NEW ART INSTITUTE.

# THE WORLD'S CONGRESS

OF

# REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN

A HISTORICAL RÉSUMÉ FOR POPULAR CIRCULATION OF THE WORLD'S CONGRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN, CONVENED IN CHICAGO ON MAY 15, AND ADJOURNED ON MAY 22, 1893, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE WOMAN'S BRANCH OF

## THE WORLD'S CONGRESS AUXILIARY

MRS. POTTER PALMER, PRESIDENT.
MRS. CHARLES HENROTIN, VICE-PRESIDENT.

EDITED BY MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,
CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE OF ORGANIZATION.

VOLUME I.

CHICAGO AND NEW YORK:
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1894.

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TO

THE MEN AND WOMEN

AMONG HER CONTEMPORARIES WHO,
"HAVING EARS TO HEAR," CAN UNDERSTAND ITS MESSAGE,
AND HAVING
OPEN MINDS AND GENEROUS HEARTS,
CAN REGARD WITH FAVOR
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# PREFACE.

IN presenting to the public the following report of the World's Congress of Representative Women, which convened at Chicago Monday, May 15, 1893, in the Memorial Art Palace, under the auspices of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary, the officers of the Woman's Branch have judged it expedient to preface this report with a few words of explanation as to the inception of the Congress.

An invitation was extended by Mrs. Potter Palmer, president, and Mrs. Henrotin, vice-president of the Woman's Branch, to the "National Council of Women of the United States," at the meeting in session in Washington during February, 1891, inviting the Council, in the name of the World's Congress Auxiliary to hold its annual meeting in Chicago during the Exposition of 1893. Invitations and circulars were specially prepared by the World's Congress Auxiliary, and delivered by the president and vice-president of the Woman's Branch to the members of the National Council, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and members of other organizations present at that meeting, inviting them also to hold their annual meetings in Chicago, under the auspices of the Woman's Branch of the Congress Auxiliary, during the Exposition year.

Mrs. May Wright Sewall, as president of the National Council of Women of the United States, and as representing the International Council of Women, in response to the invitations from the officers of the Woman's Branch, and in the absence from Chicago of those officers, wrote to the Hon. Charles C. Bonney, president of the World's Congress Auxiliary, requesting that the quinquennial meeting of the International Council of Women be also held in Chicago as one of the series of World's Congresses.

At the request of the officers of the Woman's Branch, President Bonney, in replying to Mrs. Sewall, outlined the plan for the Congress of Representative Women, to convene under the direction of, and to be presided over by, the officers of the Woman's Branch; and at the request of those officers, Mrs. May Wright Sewall was invited to become chairman of the Local Committee of Organization.

From the inception of the Congresses the officers of the Woman's Branch had in mind a Congress of Women, in which the presentation of the professions and trades now open to woman would have been given great prominence; but having received written applications and verbal requests from the officers of many associations to hold annual meetings in Chicago during 1893, they realized that the holding of so many separate meetings would be impossible, and would greatly interfere with the general scheme of the Congresses. They therefore abandoned the project of convening a Special Congress of Business Women, and exerted their influence to secure the representation in the World's Congress of Representative Women of all women in active business.

The formation of dual committees of men and women to assist in the organization of each of the twenty departments of the series of Congresses which were to be held during the Columbian Exposition, secured for woman an equal representation with man along every line of human thought and progress; and it was not to supply any lack in the original scope of the Congresses that that of Representative Women was added to the list. Great care was taken in issuing the preliminary circulars of this Congress, and in arranging programmes, that it should be distinctly understood that in this Congress the contribution of woman alone to the general progress of society, the reform of social evils, and the bettering of the industrial conditions should be presented, while the other Congresses should treat all subjects in their entirety.

Mrs. Potter Palmer, president of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary, and as president of the Board of Lady Managers of the World's Columbian Exposition, had already secured for the committees of foreign women the official recognition of the various European governments, and

the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary was thus put in relationship, through the Secretary of State, with the women forming these governmental committees. The president of the Woman's Branch in her journeys to Europe lost no opportunity of urging the officers of foreign societies to send delegates to Chicago to participate in each Congress of the series.

A large number of circulars both in French and German were mailed by the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary to the celebrated women of the world, giving the scope of the proposed Congresses, and urging women everywhere to visit the Columbian Exposition and participate in the Congresses. The delegates who in response to this invitation attended the World's Congress of Representative Women and the Congresses that followed during the Exposition season were, in most cases, accredited representatives of the different European governments; and the reports which they will make on their return will be published and widely read.

Mrs. May Wright Sewall's trip to Europe in the interest of the Congress of Representative Women also bore abundant fruit, and to her untiring efforts were due the presence at the Congress of some of the most brilliant foreign representatives.

Early in the formation of this Congress, that its relation to the World's Congress Auxiliary might be clearly understood, the president and vice-president of the Woman's Branch issued the following circular:

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT IN RELATION TO THE CONGRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN TO BE HELD DURING THE WEEK COMMENCING MAY 15, 1893.

The undersigned take great pleasure in announcing that the Congress of Representative Women of all lands will be opened in the Permanent Memorial Art Palace, on the Lake Front Park, city of Chicago, on Monday, May 15, 1893, and that the Congress promises to realize the highest expectations of those who have been engaged in its organization.

That there may be a perfectly clear understanding of the nature and purpose of the Woman's Congress, the undersigned will say that while it was called by, and convened under the auspices of the World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition, and is particularly under

the direction of the general officers of the Woman's Branch of the Auxiliary, it is not intended to supersede the proper work of women in any other department of the World's Congress work. In Temperance; in Moral and Social Reform; in Education; in Science; in Music, and the other departments of progress, woman will still have her appropriate part to perform. This Congress of Representative Women is intended to afford a proper and convenient opportunity for presenting the progress of women, in all lands and in all departments of human progress, more fully than there would be opportunity to do in the other departments of the World's Congress work. In this Congress all organizations of women of whatever name or object, and all distinguished women, whether they belong to any particular organization or not, will meet on absolutely equal terms for the advancement of the common interests of women everywhere. This explicit statement is made for the purpose of setting at rest any question which may have arisen in regard to the relations of the various organizations to the World's Congress Auxiliary.

The work inaugurated by the Committee of Organization, of which Mrs. May Wright Sewall is chairman, has been prosecuted with indefatigable zeal in all parts of the world, and has elicited responses of the most cordial and satisfactory nature from the representative women of all countries. Almost without exception, the organizations of women in various countries have readily enlisted in the support of the Congress and the furtherance of its plans. The National and International Councils of Women, the Federation of Women's Clubs, and other organizations of women, readily acceded to the proposal of the World's Congress Auxiliary that a World's Congress of the representative women of all countries be convened to take the place of the usual annual meetings of such organizations, and have ever since labored with untiring zeal to promote the success of the Congress.

We therefore earnestly invite the leaders of women in all countries, and the associations of women in all lands, to vie with each other to the utmost of their power in endeavoring to make the success of the Woman's Congress the crowning event of woman's progress to the year 1893.

BERTHA M. H. PALMER, *President.*
ELLEN M. HENROTIN, *Vice-President.*
*Woman's Branch World's Congress Auxiliary.*

The societies and associations of women throughout the United States responded most generously, even enthusiastically, to the call for the Congress. The list of foreign societies whose reports appear in the Report Congresses is a long and brilliant one, and all present united in bearing testimony to the eager interest which women are taking all over the world in social, economic, and political questions.

The American associations were nearly all represented in the Congress, and by their zeal and enthusiasm rendered it the

most brilliant as well as the largest gathering of women ever convened.

The officers of the Woman's Branch tender their sincere thanks to Mrs. May Wright Sewall, chairman of the Committee of Organization, and Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, the secretary, for the untiring energy and unselfish devotion with which they labored to secure the success of this unique Congress, and to the members of the Local Committee, who faithfully attended committee meetings, and who exerted their influence to secure the coöperation of every association in the United States. How great and far-reaching was that influence may be judged from the personnel of the members composing the committee — Miss Frances E. Willard, president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union; Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson, president of the Chicago Women's Club; Dr. Julia Holmes Smith, vice-chairman of the Woman's Committee on a Congress of Homeopathic Physicians and Surgeons; Mrs. Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, of the Evanston Women's Club; Mrs. William T. Brown, vice-president of the Chicago Women's Club, and Mrs. John C. Coonley.

It would not be practicable to mention by name every organization of women participating in the Congress, but the officers of the Woman's Branch desire to convey to each and every one their sincere thanks for the interest evinced and the practical support which they gave in the General Congress as well as in the Report Congresses, by holding their annual meetings under the auspices of the World's Congress Auxiliary.

The thanks of the officers of the Woman's Branch are cordially extended to the various clubs and organizations who so generously entertained this Congress.

The Chicago Women's Club, which opened their record as hosts by giving a brilliant reception to the World's Congress of Representative Women, entertained almost every Congress which convened during the season.

This Congress was also entertained by the West End Woman's Club, the Board of Lady Managers of the World's Columbian Exposition, and the National Council of Women, besides many private receptions.

The Congress will undoubtedly be productive of great good in arousing the enthusiasm of women for association, for already many new associations, some of which are destined to be a great power, have been formed, having taken their impetus from the Congress of Representative Women.

The subjection of woman is nearing its end, for she has now secured governmental, industrial, and social recognition. She will, like man, remain under the dominion of physical law, inherited tendencies, and social conditions until they both acquire that fuller knowledge which will enable them to conquer these great forces.

The majority of men and women alike struggle from morning until night to keep a roof over their heads and bread in their mouths, and the entire energies of woman should from this day forth be united with those of man, to better existing economic and social conditions, so that joy and beauty may become as much a part of life as sorrow and labor.

BERTHA M. H. PALMER,
*President Woman's Branch W. C. A.*

ELLEN M. HENROTIN,
*Vice-President Woman's Branch W. C. A.*

BERTHA M. HONORÉ PALMER,
President Board of Lady Managers, World's Columbian Exposition;
President Woman's Branch World's Congresses of 1893.

# WORLD'S CONGRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN.

## CHAPTER I.—THE INTRODUCTION.

SUMMARY AND COMMENT BY THE EDITOR—SELECTED PARAGRAPHS FROM THE FORMAL ADDRESSES AND IMPROMPTU SPEECHES DELIVERED AT THE MORNING AND EVENING SESSIONS OF THE GENERAL CONGRESS, MAY 15, 1893, BY CHARLES C. BONNEY, BERTHA HONORÉ PALMER, ELLEN M. HENROTIN, MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, THE COUNTESS OF ABERDEEN, FLORENCE FENWICK MILLER, JANE COBDEN UNWIN, HANNA BIEBER-BOEHM, ISABELLE BOGELOT, MARGARET WINDEYER, AUGUSTA FOERSTER, BARONESS THORBORG-RAPPE, CALLIRRHOË PARREN, JOSEFA HUMPAL-ZEMAN, KAETHE SCHIRMACHER, KIRSTINE FREDERIKSEN, MRS. JOHN HARVIE, HULDA LUNDIN, DR. AUGUSTA STOWE GULLEN, MRS. FOSTER, MARY MCDONNELL, ELIZABETH M. TILLEY, LAURA ORMISTON CHANT, MARGARET V. PARKER, NICO BECK-MEYER AND MERI TOPPELIUS—EDITORIAL COMMENT—EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE CLOSING SESSION OF THE GENERAL CONGRESS BY MAY WRIGHT SEWALL.

THE two volumes now given to the public contain an abridged record of the proceedings of a group of meetings probably among the most remarkable ever convened. This is not said in forgetfulness of the councils of Nice and Trent, of the pregnant interview between King John and his Barons, and of the first Continental Congress; but in the belief that with these, and with similar creed-making, epoch-making assemblies, the World's Congress of Representative Women must be counted.

The addresses and discussions partially reproduced in these volumes have no mean degree of intrinsic value and interest; but only when they are read in the light that it is hoped will be thrown upon them by this introduction can

their entire significance and suggestiveness be understood. In this light, whether one considers its origin or its motive, its *dramatis personæ*, or the character and the range of the topics discussed in it, it will appear that the World's Congress of Representative Women was not only an event in the social history of our country, but a mile-stone in the evolution of our race.

The preparations for the Congress, characterized by a remarkable unanimity of purpose among those engaged therein, were met by a corresponding unanimity of sympathy among those invited to participate in the programme, and in other ways to promote its success. Notwithstanding the prevailing sympathy, invitations were now and again answered with the questions, "Why hold a congress of representative women any more than a congress of representative men?" "Since women are to be permitted, nay, invited and solicited, to have a place on the committees of arrangements, the advisory councils, and the programmes of most if not all of the hundred other congresses to be held in behalf of as many different classes, subjects, and interests, why hold a separate, exclusive congress of women at all?"

The uniform reply to such queries was, in substance, that in all the other congresses women would appear, not in the rôle of women, so to speak, but in that of teacher, physician, preacher, author, stenographer, insurance agent, banker, archæologist, philanthropist, etc., to discuss, in company with men belonging to the same professions, engaged in the same businesses, and interested in the same themes, the questions pertaining to their respective professions and avocations.

It was admitted that by their presence and participation in these various congresses women would illustrate incidentally the changing attitude of the world toward themselves, as women; but it was urged that such incidental illustration would present most inadequately the revolution wrought in recent years in the world's conception of

woman's natural capabilities and her consequent just position, while it would fail utterly to record or commemorate the struggle through which some women (aided by some men) have won for all women the place conceded to them in modern life. The motive of the entire scheme of the Congress Auxiliary was to ascertain and exhibit the present status of the human race in respect to all important activities; to all great movements; to all fundamental interests.

No interest can be more fundamental than that at once expressed and awakened by the questions: What is the relation of one-half of the race to the other half? to the whole? What is its part in the development of the whole and in the work of the world? As no question can be more fundamental than these, so none has been more persistently asked; and it must be added, that none has received more answers or more contradictory ones.

The importance attached to women's entertaining a proper conception of their powers, position, and scope can be inferred from the number of dissertations of all kinds — sermons, essays, tracts, lectures, and letters — that clergymen, teachers, scientists, and moralists have devoted to it; a number which, in comparison with that devoted to men's conception of their position and scope, seems disproportionate.

That women have been dissatisfied with the conceptions of their place in the divine economy enjoined upon them by men, that they have been discontented in the position arbitrarily assigned to them, is evident from the changes in this conception and position conceded already, and from the efforts being made to secure further changes. Nay, it is evident that women are dissatisfied with any conception of themselves, with any position which implies their natural, necessary, and, therefore, perpetual subordination to men.

It is easy to say that the changes already made in the interpretation of woman, and in the laws, the customs and ideals concerning her, are but the modifications incidental to the general development and improvement of the human race.

Doubtless, as enlightenment and the sentiment of humanity have increased, the sense of delicacy has grown more acute, and consequently the most humiliating element in the position of women has been less brutally emphasized; and there are many who maintain that woman's position has experienced no greater alteration than that of man; that both have been equally subject to the law of progress and are equally indebted to its results. But any student of history, any student of current literature, any close observer of to-day's life, knows that between the changes made in the last half-century in the condition, attitude, and outlook of men — which are indeed due to the general progress and improvement of the race — and the changes made in the same time in the attitude and condition of women, there is a fundamental difference. It is just this fundamental difference, by far the most vital element in the changes already wrought in woman's position, which can not be ascribed to the general movement of civilization. The progress of civilization as it has affected man (i. e., man as distinguished from woman), wonderful as it is, has been in perfect harmony with the very ancient conception of man as an independent individual, a conscious son of God. It was impossible that woman should not share with man the opportunities for work, pleasure, and culture incident to the growth of civilization; but in addition to these gains she has acquired a new conception of herself, as also an independent individual and a conscious daughter of God, which is not harmonious with the former prevailing conception of her as man's addendum, his helpmeet, his subordinate.

Hence it was that a congress in which women should meet to present their position and work in every field of labor which they have entered; a memorial congress in which women might read their own interpretation of their natures, their own version of their rights, responsibilities, duties, and destiny, seemed an indispensable feature of the Congress Auxiliary scheme.

The universal willingness among progressive women to

assist in stating woman's view of herself may be inferred from the fact that, although a few women hesitated and delayed, no woman invited to a place on the Advisory Council or on the programme finally declined, excepting because of illness, distance, expense, or prior engagements which made acceptance impossible. In response to such invitations, the women of twenty-seven distinct, separate countries were represented on the Advisory Council by five hundred and twenty-eight names. Of these, two hundred and nine served as official representatives of one hundred and twenty-six organized bodies of women.

According to their nationality, these one hundred and twenty-six formal organizations of women may be classified thus:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| The United States of America | 56 | Ireland | 1 |
| Belgium | 1 | Italy | 1 |
| Canada | 6 | New South Wales | 1 |
| Denmark | 2 | Norway | 2 |
| England | 30 | Scotland | 3 |
| Finland | 2 | South America | 1 |
| France | 7 | Sweden | 3 |
| Germany | 9 | Switzerland | 1 |

According to their respective purposes or objects, the same organizations may be grouped as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Education | 11 | Moral and social reform | 15 |
| Literature and art | 5 | Civil and political reform | 34 |
| Science | 4 | Industry | 6 |
| Religion | 30 | Orders | 2 |
| Charity and philanthropy | 17 | Miscellaneous | 2 |

No complete record of the lay membership of all these organizations has been obtained, but it must run into the millions.

During an entire week from four to twenty meetings were held daily, exclusive of the Conference congresses and of the numerous meetings that were improvised, in response to irresistible public appeal, to fill the afternoon recess. That is, there were held in this one week eighty-one meet-

ings, at each of which a carefully prearranged programme was rendered, besides the meetings held under the auspices of the eight committees on conferences and the indefinite number of informal meetings above referred to.

From Tuesday to Friday, inclusive, there were never less than seven nor more than eighteen meetings in simultaneous progress. In these meetings three hundred and thirty * women contributed addresses or joined in discussions. Adding this number to the four hundred and twenty-six who served only on the Advisory Council and to the eighty-one * women who served only on the different conference committees, we have a total of eight hundred and thirty-seven different women whose united efforts secured the success of this Congress.

From the above statements one must infer that for some reason the most thoughtful, the most finely developed and most highly cultured women considered it important to seize this unique opportunity to present their estimate of woman's place and possibilities.

The secretary of the World's Congress Auxiliary has stated that the total attendance upon the meetings above enumerated exceeded one hundred and fifty thousand persons. This seems an excessive estimate; however, the maximum capacity of the Art Palace is ten thousand; and its maximum capacity was taxed by throngs that, filling every room or hall where a meeting was announced, overflowed all these and surged through anterooms and passages, patiently or otherwise waiting the withdrawal of some listener for a chance to obtain standing-place in the always crowded aisles.

The policemen in attendance (of whom there were fifteen) testified that often hundreds of people were sent away long before the hour of opening a meeting arrived. From the

*Many women spoke in two or more Congresses or served on two or more Conference Committees; and one hundred and two members of the Advisory Council served the Congress also in other ways; but these figures include no duplicates, each woman being counted but once.

preceding statements may be inferred the eager desire of the public to hear women's views of woman. The desire in woman to tell her own story, to paint her own portrait, to read her own future, a desire so deep that it seemed a duty, so dominating that it amounted to a necessity — made the World's Congress of Representative Women possible. The corresponding eagerness of the world at large to listen to the story, to look at the picture and the vision — this made the Congress successful.

In all the other (more than a hundred) congresses fewer women participated than in this one; in all the others combined (excluding possibly the Educational congresses and the Parliament of Religions) there were fewer listeners. What is the import of these facts?

It were idle to try to reproduce in print the impression made by the Congress upon the minds of those who were fortunate enough to attend it. One might show photographs of the throngs vainly endeavoring to elbow their way through the packed mass of eager would-be auditors filling the space in front of the Art Palace, crowding the steps and trying to effect an entrance at the police-guarded doors; of the anterooms filled to suffocation with those who, happy in gaining admittance, but miserable in finding every session-room overflowing with earlier arrivals, spent entire sessions in pushing their way from one door to another only to find all doors blocked; of the halls where the flags of all the countries of the world float above platforms crowded with distinguished women of a score of nationalities, upon whom are focused the eyes and thoughts of audiences characterized by serious enthusiasm. From all these photographs, however, the color and movement are inevitably lacking. One might show diagrams of the rooms wherein standing-space was at a premium, and rapt listeners were quite oblivious to the stifling atmosphere, realizing only that it was palpitant with eloquence; but these diagrams would hold small suggestion of the feeling of the occasion. One may read the words that were spoken, but only to realize that "it

is the spirit which giveth life," and that the spirit which was kindled by the circumstances, the scene, the event, has in large measure with these passed away. However, the word, though cooled by time, is the best symbol of the spirit, and that readers of these volumes may be prepared to peruse them sympathetically, and therefore intelligently, it is desirable to give them in this introduction the point of view and the key-note of the Congress.

At no one session of the Congress were these made more intelligible than at the sessions on Monday, May 15th, in the official opening addresses and in the speeches of the foreign delegates. While it has not seemed desirable to give complete abstracts of these addresses in the body of the report of this Congress, it seems necessary for the purposes above indicated to insert brief extracts from them at this point. It is hoped that through these extracts readers will get a reflection of the spirit of the Congress that will prepare them to weigh its importance and compute its results.

## MR. CHARLES C. BONNEY, PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD'S CONGRESS AUXILIARY.

REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN OF ALL LANDS: The inaugural ceremonies of the World's Congresses of 1893 having been closed, it is now my agreeable duty to announce the opening of the first Congress of the series — the World's Congress of Representative Women. To you has been allotted the high honor of leading the way in the great series of presentations to be made in this Memorial Art Palace during the six months of the Exposition season. This Congress will be in the especial charge of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary; and thus the magnificent achievements of woman in the upward and onward march of civilization will be presented first in the review of human progress which has been arranged for the

intellectual and moral exposition which will make ever memorable this year of grace 1893.

This is peculiarly appropriate in view of the fact that the nineteenth century will be known in history as the century of woman's progress, as much if not more than by any other name. It is in this age that woman has become distinguished along the higher lines of human progress, carrying with her wherever she has gone a higher civilization, greater refinement and culture, and, as might have been expected, a beneficent influence on every interest with which she has come in contact. What woman's progress signifies is, not the degradation of man, but the elevation of woman. In the deeper philosophic sense, the distinguishing developments of the nineteenth century along the line of what is known as woman's progress, represent the substitution of the law of love for the law of force. Just in proportion as nations and peoples substitute the law of love for the law of force, and seek to do to each other good instead of evil, just in that proportion will come the higher and better civilization of the race.

Woman holds in her hand no agency of force by which she can compel a compliance with her desires, and accomplish the objects which she has in view. She must attain her ends solely by the exercise of the spiritual graces and refinements, the moral beauties and powers, of which she has always been the supreme mistress.

It was for reasons such as are indicated in these remarks that a distinct organization was created, called the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary, to represent the interests of women in the World's Congresses of 1893. It was deemed important that this should be done for a double purpose — to give woman's work in this connection such distinctness and comparative independence that it should be seen and judged by itself, and to secure to woman that power and independence of action which would be impossible in case mixed committees of men and women had been appointed. The higher work of women in the world

is so new and so important that it is due both to her and her achievements that the distinctions indicated should be preserved. Working side by side with the corresponding committees of men, the committees of women for the organization of each of the congresses, acting under their own general officers, have pursued their work with such fidelity, such subordination to the general plans and purposes of the work, and such conformity to the rules and regulations for the various congresses, that no words of mine can well exceed the praise which is their due.

By what has proved a most fortunate circumstance, one which seems indeed almost like a special dispensation of providence in favor of the Woman's Congress, it has the great honor of leading the way as the first of the series.

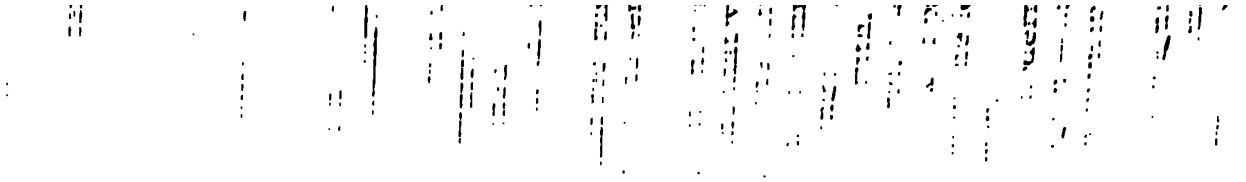
When representatives of the National and International Councils of Women first called upon me to propose a congress of their organizations, there was no week subsequent to that of May 15th which could be assigned for such a purpose. Asking those representatives to embrace all organizations of women, and all representative women whether affiliated with any organization or not, I agreed to hold that week for a short time to give them an opportunity to confer with their associates in regard to its acceptance, and promised, if accepted, to appoint the proper committee of organization for a World's Congress of Representative Women. A few days later I was notified that this week had been accepted, and that the arrangements for the congress would be prosecuted with the utmost energy and zeal.

The Committee of Organization was thereupon appointed, consisting of Mrs. May Wright Sewall (chairman), Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery (secretary), Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson, Miss Frances E. Willard, Dr. Julia Holmes Smith, Mrs. Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, Mrs. William Thayer Brown, Mrs. John C. Coonley. This committee, acting under the general supervision of the president and vice-president of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary,

entered at once upon its labors. With incomparable ability, energy, and zeal they published their plans and purposes throughout the civilized world, in the form of the customary preliminary address issued by the various committees of organization, and soon aroused an intense interest in the proposed congress. It is but simple justice to say that the burden of the great labor was borne by the distinguished chairman and secretary of the organizing committee. This magnificent assembly, convened in response to the call of the World's Congress Auxiliary, through its Woman's Branch and Woman's Committee of Organization, is the highest possible praise of the work that has been accomplished, and the highest possible promise of a successful, harmonious, and world-influencing congress.

BERTHA M. HONORÉ PALMER, PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF LADY MANAGERS AND PRESIDENT OF THE WOMAN'S BRANCH OF THE WORLD'S CONGRESS AUXILIARY.

As president of the Woman's Branch of the Congress Auxiliary, I have the privilege and pleasure of welcoming to Chicago the brilliant women of well-known achievement who will inaugurate the series of congresses to be held in this building during the coming months. Their appreciation of the significance of this occasion and the value of this opportunity has caused representatives from every part of the world to be here. Each has been moved by the desire to assist in properly focusing the last and best thought developed in the various departments of the world's work. Wisdom will be drawn from women of all nations; all bring their votive offerings to help to build and make beautiful the great temple of truth. The influence for good emanating from these halls can not be overestimated, for the words here spoken will be widely read and felt. They will express not only the actual conditions and potent forces which are working for good to-day, but also the influences that lie



ELLEN M. HENROTIN,
Vice-president Woman's Branch World's Congresses of 1893.

just back of them, which will make possible a better and happier to-morrow.

ELLEN M. HENROTIN, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE WOMAN'S BRANCH OF THE WORLD'S CONGRESS AUXILIARY (ACTING PRESIDENT).

Of the inestimable value of the participation of women in the Columbian Exposition and in the Auxiliary Congresses it is vain even to conjecture.

We feel to-day, in reviewing the past, as if great things had been accomplished, but this is the opportunity to centralize thought the results of which are destined to bring about a peaceful revolution in the social, legal, and moral status of women.

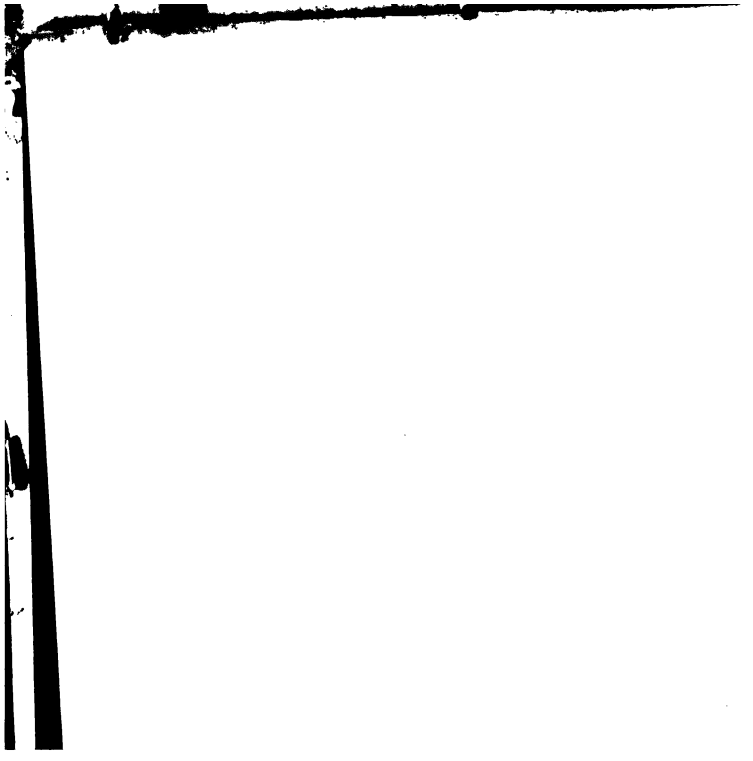
What advantage is it if a few make brilliant records, and fail to raise man and woman to the heights of the serenity of knowledge?

The rights of the individual are sacred, but only as one of a great social unity; and it is just on this line that women must bestir themselves to be good citizens of the city, the state, and the nation; to enter into the paths of commerce and finance; to supervise and educate the young; to create new trades and professions for women. In truth, what stands in the way, not of women, but of the world, to-day is woman's ignorance of practical affairs — her lack of participation in public affairs, the fatal conservatism in the leisure classes, equally marked among working-women.

Our reason and our judgment approve the modern conception of education, of democracy, of religion — but we shrink from the actual inauguration of new principles of life, and weakly cling to the past.

If these congresses can arouse women to the magnificent possibilities, not alone of womanhood, but of humanity, surely the world will look back to the summer of 1893 as blessed.

ELLEN M. HENROTIN,
Vice-president Woman's Branch World's Congresses of 1893.



MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES AND CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE OF ORGANIZATION FOR THE WORLD'S CONGRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN.

From the outset of this great work every member of the committee charged with the organization of the World's Congress of Representative Women has felt her strength to be the strength of ten, not through any self-confidence, but through confidence in those allied with us; for back of our committee has stood the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary; its president, Mrs. Potter Palmer, and its vice-president, Mrs. Charles Henrotin, bear names to conjure with; back of the Woman's Branch has stood the World's Congress Auxiliary itself, whose president, the Hon. Charles C. Bonney, from the outset avowed it to be his desire that this Congress should be the first in influence and excellence, as it should be earliest of all the long list of congresses in date; back of the World's Congress Auxiliary was felt the potent influence of the National Government, which by the statute under which the Auxiliary is organized pledged substantial aid and spiritual sponsorship to all congresses which should be convened in the name and under the protection of the Congress Auxiliary; back of the National Government, surrounding, directing, and controlling it, was felt the still more potent influence of that world spirit (der Zeit Geist) to whom alone it is given to declare when the fullness of time shall have come for any event, for the prosecution or for the success of any cause. Though the confidence of the committee is justified by its indorsers, the committee knows that its work will be judged only by its success. Hence, before the World's Congress shall have passed into history, it avails itself of this opportunity to make a brief statement of the motives and methods of its work. What is excluded from any motive is not unimportant in deciding its character; nor is it, indeed, less important than what is included in it.

May I then say that the committee has from the beginning of its work consciously and persistently excluded from its purpose the promulgation of any one cause, the exploitation of any single society, the exaltation or promotion of any one woman? Excluding all these fractional considerations, it has as persistently endeavored to promote that whole cause which is as yet lacking in the feminine correspondent of the masculine name, "fraternity": to uplift that whole society to which we might and to which we do all belong, which we name humanity: to exalt that perfect woman, who, uniting in her own person the characteristics of Eve, Venus, and the Virgin, is the ideal that can be conceived only by the high-hearted man, the lofty-minded woman: that ideal which, taking a different name in every country, is Hera in Greece, Minerva in Rome, and in America the Goddess of Liberty. The exaltation of this universal womanhood it is which the Committee of Arrangements seeks.

By what method? Although the method has been outlined by the president of the Congress Auxiliary and by the acting president of the Woman's Branch, it may not be out of place to make a plea for the high-sounding name of our Congress. Abroad, it is charged against Americans that they are fond of high-sounding names; and we must confess that by naming the school a college, and by calling the college a university, the ideal of education in our country has been debased. Heaven forbid that the size of the world shall be reduced in the public imagination, or that the dignity of this Congress shall be abated in the public mind, by its high-sounding title, "The World's Congress of Representative Women."

Almost all of the countries of Europe, India, China and Japan, Turkey, Syria, and other oriental states, divers border states of Africa, Iceland, Australia, and our next neighbors, Mexico, Canada, Central and South America, are, in this Congress, united to all the states within our own borders. May we not say that this is a world's congress? Are its members representative? That is a question, answer to which must depend upon point of view and definition.

"Organization is the tendency of the present age." How many times have we heard this in the last decade as organizations have been springing up all over the world. Notwithstanding that it has become a hackneyed statement, the hackneyed statement clothes a vital truth. Recognizing that organization is the tendency of the age, it was to organizations of women that our committee made its first appeal. It was our first necessity to find a roster of these organizations. Adding to *bona-fide national organizations* the beginnings of such formed in the capitals of countries wherein national organizations in the full sense of the term are not yet effected, we made a list of one hundred and twenty-six. Each of these organizations was regarded by our committee as a constituency, and was invited to name its representative on the Advisory Council and on the list of speakers. It was optional with each one of these one hundred and twenty-six independent constituencies to decide whether the same person should serve in both capacities or not. Therefore, it will be understood by every woman, present and absent, belonging to a national organization anywhere, that if she has not been consulted in the preparations for this Congress, or if she has not been invited to speak in its sessions, she must appeal to her constituency for an explanation and not to the committee; since each constituency made its own nominations, which in every instance have been respected.

Though it was our desire to recognize isolated individuals equally with the representatives of organizations, it is with a higher pride, with a deeper gladness, that we welcome to our platform representatives of those arts who hitherto have achieved their fame, scored their successes, carried their career from beginning to end, under the impulse of individualism as distinguished from that of associated endeavor. I know that no other woman whose name is upon our list of speakers will feel it invidious if I mention those queens regnant of the realm of art, Janauschek, Modjeska, Clara Morris, and those princesses of the same

realm, Mlle. Rhea, Julia Marlowe, and Georgia Cayvan; for I count it one of the realized dreams that such representatives of art will come here and let the concentrated luster of their brilliant achievement be added to the more diffused light that shines upon the paths of the women who work in education, in philanthropy, in charity, in religion, in moral and social reform.

Again, in seeking for individuals outside as well as within the arts who should be invited to participate in this Congress, the selection was not made by our committee unaided. Indeed, for the most part, our committee simply has confirmed the nominations made by a constituency of twelve hundred men and women selected by us, to whom were issued letters asking them to nominate the women outside of organizations who should stand upon the Advisory Council of this Congress or should be asked to speak from its platform; and no woman has been placed upon the Advisory Council or the programme who has not thus been vouched for by some man or woman in the picked constituency of twelve hundred.*

Glad as we are to unite in this Congress mistresses of the different arts, we feel it a gladder if a humbler duty to unite in it the races that are at work together within our own land for liberty. It is a wonderful truth that the capability for forgiveness, that divinest of attributes, is a human inheritance. You will find upon the list of our speakers a descendant of the last hereditary chief of the Cherokees, and also some descendants of that other more greatly outraged race, imported only to be reduced to servitude, who come to us but one remove from the generation of their own blood which was sold from the block. Is not this a magnificent proof of the capacity for forgiveness possessed by these two races?

In our own country, where all races are mingling, difference of race has never made so deep a chasm as religious difference makes, especially when the latter is intensified through its being a racial inheritance. Therefore it is

* See Appendix A.

with peculiar joy that we read upon our lists side by side with the names of representatives of the mother church, the great Catholic church, in Europe and in the United States, names of women representing all the leading sects of that great subdivision of religious faith named Protestantism. It is with a still keener pleasure that the committee welcomes to this congress a representative of a still older faith, the Hebraism out of which Christianity evolved. The preparations for the Parliament of Religions have so emphasized the fraternity of faiths that the propriety of emphasizing the mingling of the adherents of different religions in this Woman's Congress may be questioned. But more is implied by this meeting of women of different creeds of the same general faith than would be indicated by the meeting of men of entirely different faiths; for, however men may have led religious struggles by virtue of simply external forces, such struggles have always drawn their inspiration from the woman heart; from the heart to which reverence is a native principle; from that heart which cherishes its religion, by whatever name, as its first and final love.

The educative character of the Congress must not be forgotten. Its best work will not be done during its sessions; much of its best work has been done already. The committee can never express the gratitude it owes to the press of foreign countries in disseminating its plans. All of the documents so generously printed at the expense of the United States Government have been reproduced in the papers of Italy, France, Germany, England, Bohemia, and in abridged form in Denmark, Norway, Russia, and Finland. Leading journals of all these countries have opened their columns from time to time to notice our letters and appeals in successive order since the first preliminary address, and have followed their notices of our work with eulogistic editorials, thus commending it to thousands of women who, although they can not share the privileges of these sessions, have already shared the inspiration of the preparations.

The influences that have mingled in these preparations can not be enumerated. The Honorable Mr. Bonney told us this morning that seven centuries of human progress were reaching their climax in this series of congresses. With his permission, I will say that the influences which are to be gathered up in this Congress must include that of Miriam as she gave instruction to the great leader, Moses, and that of Sappho as she sat in her proud island home, gathering about her her disciples, those women to whom with the art of poetry she imparted also the principles of religion and government.

I wish I could intimate at what sacrifice our delegates have come to us. I wish I could indicate to you the character of the women whose eyes are fixed upon these halls to-day. I hold in my hand cablegrams from England, Scotland, Russia, Finland, Holland, Belgium, and France, from organizations of women in all these countries, who send their loving greetings, their words of cheer and sisterly affection.

I wish I could enumerate all of the delegates gathered here at this hour, and to the name of each append a recital of her good works. But could I enumerate all, I should close with the name of the only one to whom I shall refer. Sitting upon this platform, to be introduced to you by and by, is a woman who sailed from the Cape of Good Hope. Is it not indeed from the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, from that promontory of eternal and boundless aspiration jutting out into the wonderfully radiant waters of infinity, that we set sail to-day? A great leader marshaling his forces for a mighty battle reminded them that from the heights of the pyramids twenty centuries looked down upon them. Can we not feel to-day that twenty centuries of aspiration lying back of us find some response in this event, and that twenty centuries of hope fulfilled lying before us, looking back shall find that this Congress dates the hour of a new march — not for divided womanhood as against a separate manhood, but a new march for a unified, harmonious, onstepping humanity?

THE COUNTESS OF ABERDEEN, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE RETURN OF WOMEN TO ALL LOCAL GOVERNING BODIES, OF THE WOMEN'S LIBERAL FEDERATION OF SCOTLAND, AND OF THE WOMAN'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE OF ENGLAND.

On behalf of the women of my own country, on behalf of the various associations that have asked me to act here, and especially on behalf of the largest political association of women in the world, I beg to thank the preceding speakers.

It is only, after all, a very short time back that this associated work of women has become strong; really it is only within our day — and we have heard even to-day the whisper of the thought that perhaps our danger lies now in over-organization; that everything must be done through committees, associations, and meetings; but I think we are already finding out that the way to create a larger usefulness is to bring together all of these various associations into a larger union, so that they may together find out the sources and the causes of their weaknesses and failures as well as of their strength and their successes. During the last five years in Great Britain there have been such meetings where representatives of secular as well as of religious, political, philanthropic, and social work have gathered together to learn to know one another. I am proud to say that the first conference of that sort, although it was conducted in a small school, was held in our town of Aberdeen in Scotland. It was held five years ago, and we can trace to it very great results, upon the workers out in the country districts, who before that time were working in loneliness, not knowing what a sisterhood they had to look to. That conference has been followed by others, by larger ones, which are increasing from year to year, and large meetings are being held throughout England at cities like Birmingham, Liverpool, and Bristol. During the last three years

meetings have been held which have given out great inspiration to all the women workers who had the privilege of attending them. If such results come from these meetings in one country, who can foretell the results which will come from this wonderful Congress which you of the New World have convened together?

I can only say on my own behalf that I feel it is an enormous responsibility to stand here as the representative of the women of my own country; an enormous responsibility, filling me with apprehension lest I may not be able to catch the spirit which pervades this meeting and to convey it to those whom we, as representatives here, are acting for. I can only pray that the womanhood of the world may indeed arise to the greatness of the opportunity which is now presented.

FLORENCE FENWICK MILLER, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WOMAN'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE OF ENGLAND, THE CENTRAL NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE, THE SOCIETY FOR THE RETURN OF WOMEN TO ALL LOCAL GOVERNING BODIES, AND THE NEW SOMERVILLE CLUB (LONDON).

It is an amusing fact that in Mother Shipton's prophecies it is said that the twentieth century should be the century of women; assuredly, Mother Shipton made a very happy hit. When I first began to take in women's questions they were generally spoken of as "Americanisms." I can remember this word in my early girlhood as the term indicative of, I will not say, opprobrium, but of a spirit which dismissed a subject at once in old-fashioned England. Any new idea as to the education of women, or the admittance of women to the learned professions, or any improvement in woman's dress was an Americanism.

It has been said very truly that the discovery which men have made in this age of the true powers of women is as

great a discovery in its consequences as the discovery of the powers of electricity. Those powers always existed. It is only to-day that they are being utilized; it is only to-day that women are being asked to step forward, that they are being allowed even to exercise to the full all those powers that have been bestowed upon them, assuredly for the purpose of being used, but that in past ages have been only too completely crushed within the bosoms where they existed.

In England we have gone ahead very rapidly with advanced ideas about women from the days when those ideas were mere "Americanisms," and I am inclined to think that as far as the laws go we stand at present in a higher position than the women of any other nation.

In England women exercise every franchise except the parliamentary one. Women have sat upon the school boards over there from the beginning. The London School Board has never been without one or more lady members, I myself having been a member of it for nine years. The London County Councilors are elected in part by the votes of women. My friend and fellow-delegate, Mrs. Cobden Unwin, was elected by a large constituency to sit upon the London County Council, but the judges decided that as the law had not explicitly made a woman eligible she could not sit. In the new bodies of parish councils, that are now being established by an act which is before Parliament, women are entitled both to vote and to sit. They can also exercise all rights of property, whether they are married or single, and they can stand before the law in all matters in regard to property on an absolute equality with men. Medicine is now open to women after a long and hard struggle. The law is not, and the orthodox church is not. The orthodox church I am inclined to think will be the last stronghold that will give way. I fear it will be found to be even worse than the law; but things go ahead so fast that perhaps before I die I shall see a lady Archbishop of Canterbury. In almost every way women in England now find an avenue open to them for the exercise of their

special and peculiar talents. As an illustration of what we yet require I will just mention to you what are the specific laws for which the Woman's Franchise League is at present working. In the first place we are working for the parliamentary vote, because we feel that that must be the bulwark behind which we intrench every other privilege and every other right that we obtain, and because we feel that it is a slur and an insult that the most highly cultivated, the most competent, the most business-like, the best trained of women should be held incapable of giving any opinion upon the affairs of their country, while the lowest, the most ignorant, and the most illiterate of men is supposed to be equal to having such an opinion.

The next measure we advocate in the House of Commons is one for amending the divorce laws, which are very unequal between men and women. Our next bill is one for making equal the condition of men and women before the law in case of inheritance of property where there is no will. At present if a man dies without leaving a will his wife and his daughters are postponed by the law to the interests of his eldest son in particular, and to those of all his sons in general. If it were not our duty to do these things, if it were not our duty to cultivate our minds and to exercise our opinions, the power to do it would have been denied us. Powers and duties are correlative, stand in opposite scales, and are absolutely balanced. Let no one suppose that a power which is not used is anything else but the talent that was buried in the napkin; let no one shelter herself under the idea that she is unselfishly giving up what she might have claimed for herself, that she is putting aside her own claims and generously taking a lower place. It is by such subterfuges that we are led away from difficult and tiresome duties. Whatever powers a woman has it is her duty to exercise to the full, and it is because we believe that the exercising of those powers to the full will be a benefit to mankind at large that we are so much in earnest about the woman question.

JANE COBDEN UNWIN OF ENGLAND, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FRANCHISE LEAGUE OF ENGLAND, THE CENTRAL NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE, AND THE SOCIETY FOR THE RETURN OF WOMEN TO ALL LOCAL GOVERNING BODIES.

As one of the delegates from England I desire to thank you most heartily for the reception you have accorded me. I recognize the warm interest which is felt in this country for the work the societies which I represent are carrying forward in England for advancing the position of woman in public and political life. I can assure you that in England we fully appreciate the progress in this direction which you are making in this country, and we look forward hopefully to the not very distant date when the women of these two countries shall have won for themselves the absolute rights of free citizens.

HANNA BIEBER-BOEHM, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE JUGENDSCHUTZ VEREIN (GERMANY).

The women of Germany give their greeting to the women of the world here assembled, and especially to the noble women of America, who have done so much for the advancement of our woman cause, and who by their brave and persevering activity have raised the position of woman to a heretofore unknown prominence.

ISABELLE BOGELOT, TREASURER OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN, OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE, AND REPRESENTATIVE OF LA SOLIDARITÉ DES FEMMES.

In the name of France I first greet our hosts, the American ladies, and then all who represent here their different

countries. To-day we wish to have only one country, that where reigns justice; a single flag, that which will make all our hearts beat for the amelioration of the condition of women in the entire world.

I bow before the recollection of the noble ones who have left this earth before a definite victory. I am proud to find myself in the midst of women whose names will be handed down to posterity, shining with the recognition of their enfranchised sisters, for to have struggled for the rights of women is to struggle a second time for the abolition of slavery.

I conclude my sincere and modest wishes by congratulating the young women who will come to take part in our work and to enjoy the happy results which have crowned persevering efforts. In walking upon the path traced by their elders, and working in their turn, the generation which follows us will see, I hope, the triumph of the cause of woman. Who knows whether the complete recognition of the rights of woman will not take for its annually recurring gala-day the glorious date of the 15th of May, 1893, a day when all the nations, uniting at Chicago, opened the international congress of women.

## MARGARET WINDEYER OF AUSTRALIA, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WOMANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

Coming as I do from the newest country represented in this august body, words fail to express how highly I esteem it an honor and privilege to be among your number. The members of this Congress stand upon the immovable basis of a common interest, viz., the advancement of women and through them of the whole human race; and it is no light matter to stand among you as the representative of that country of great actualities and greater possibilities, Australia. Though widely separated from the thinking women

of Europe and America, there are women in Australia who have the courage of their opinions; who unflinchingly strive toward the good and true; who try to bear each other's burdens; who seek to obtain right and justice for all; who show themselves capable of attaining higher education, and of taking an active part in the organizations which exist for the welfare of the young and for the alleviation of human misery.

AUGUSTA FOERSTER OF GERMANY, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE GENERAL GERMAN ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN, OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE WORKING CLASSES, AND OF THE FEDERATION OF ALL THE SOCIETIES OF LADY TEACHERS IN GERMANY.

I have the honor to bring you the cordial greeting from three German associations of women. We are highly interested in all the work our American and foreign friends have done. In regard to the higher public education of women, you enjoy all the advantages that we are longing and fighting for.

The three associations I have the honor to represent are: General German Association of Women, whose leader is the well-known Frau Luise Otto-Peters in Leipzig; Association for the Education of the Working Classes; General Federation of All the Societies of Lady Teachers in Germany, whose members are just now holding their annual meeting under the splendid leadership of Helene Lange. There are in this federation, which was established in 1890, thirty-eight societies, with four thousand five hundred members. Our aim is to have more lady teachers and superintendents in our public schools; to give women a greater influence in public education at large, and to qualify them for these responsible tasks by a higher education. Last, not least, we demand a higher public education for all women.

BARONESS THORBORG-RAPPE, OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SWEDEN (APPOINTED BY A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE CABINET CALLED FOR THAT PURPOSE).

A Norwegian authoress, Mrs. Camilla Collett, has, in a series of essays on the "Woman Question in Europe," expressed herself thus regarding its progress in Sweden:

"Sweden stands first among the northern states in the movement for the education of woman. She early outstripped the others in a more lively and general interest in woman's rights, and the result is that to-day the country is blessed with many noble reforms in this direction. This striking fact is unquestionably due to the liberal sentiments which Swedish men entertain for women themselves, as well as for the cause which the women advocate. From early times the men of Sweden have been considered to represent the specifically chivalrous virtues of our northern climes, and if the daughters of the land have not yet reaped the full benefit of this inestimable trait, now assuredly the harvest-time has come."

The reports from the Swedish Ladies' Committee, which I shall have the honor of presenting you, will bear witness to this fact. It is, no doubt, a great victory that the American women have gained over the prejudices which have long kept in bondage the capacities of woman, thus having succeeded in getting her accepted as the equal collaborator with man in this great international competition.

It will be your just reward that the impressions and ideas which shall be kindled in this Congress will contribute to the betterment and elevation of mankind.

CALLIRRHOË PARREN OF GREECE, REPRESENTING HER COUNTRY BY THE PARTICULAR APPOINTMENT OF QUEEN OLGA.

I come from a distant but not unknown country, the Kingdom of Greece. I have crossed the sea and the ocean

that I might meet with you and join with you in celebrating on this occasion the progress of woman, in a country in which women continue the work of my ancestors. American ladies, from their colossal progress, may be considered the younger sisters of the women of ancient Greece. Have you not done in this age what they did twenty centuries ago? Are not you the athletic heroines of progress who have raised up the flag of woman's intellectual independence, and have achieved by your native intelligence and by your ardent devotion to science and art the realization of the great idea of Christ — the equality of the sexes?

Have not your great nation and your great men, the wealth of your country, the millions of dollars to your credit in your national budget proved that the developed woman is the greatest and richest factor in a commonwealth? that women with systematic culture, with purpose and with heart, not only fashion honorable men and invaluable patriots, and consolidate homes, but also make nations and countries strong? As the first Christians looked intently toward Jerusalem as the spot whence, through Christianity, the regeneration of nations was to be effected, so all the civilized world looks intently toward America as the point whence shall issue the true civilization and the permanent progress of the people. We, far away to-day in our small Greece, with our beautiful sky, our smiling landscapes, and with the living and instructive monuments of our ancestors — we, the small descendants of great progenitors, follow your course with enthusiasm.

Age-long servitude has rendered our minds inert, our bodies weak. The darkness of the Middle Ages has spread a thick cloud over Greece, and the tyrannical yoke which but just now we have thrown off has left ineffaceable scars. Nevertheless we advance, if only slowly. The monuments of our ancestral fame are colossal evidences of genius which remind us of our descent. They say to us that a nation does not die whose works time, the great destroyer, has not been able to render tame and weak.

I shall not try, ladies, to inform you as to my ancient country. You know its great and glorious history, from which has been nurtured all the human race. Generally the name of Athens has been accepted to mean light, progress, civilization, letters, art, science; but before all these it had another meaning, to many unknown. It meant in general the predomination of the goddesses in Olympia, and the predomination of woman in society. Our women in ancient times, according to a very old tradition, had the same civil rights as men. When it was to be decided what deity should be the protector of their city, while the men, who were more lazy than the women, voted, in small numbers, for a god, the women all voted for a goddess. Thus Athens came under the rule of Pallas Athena — of wisdom.

### JOSEFA HUMPAL-ZEMAN OF BOHEMIA.

What can I say for the Bohemian women to you? We have come thousands of miles, as have many other noble representatives. I only regret that my friend who was to represent the women of Bohemia to-night is not able to be here, because she has been delayed on the voyage and may not arrive until a week later. We have in our country, among those high hills, and in those quiet valleys, women who are to-day struggling for the same ideas, the same aims which you are struggling for; and the very fact that I, a Bohemian, a descendant of that famous educator who dared to advocate equal education for women and men — that I stand here a Bohemian woman, Bohemian born, Bohemian educated, to assist in this Congress, proves my statement.

Ladies, I need not make any excuses for the women of my nationality. They have struggled; they have tried to perform their duties in their own homes. They have also gone to the wars and stood side by side with their husbands in the Thirty Years' War, where they fought bravely. They have

CLARENCE E. YOUNG,
General Secretary World's Congresses of 1893.

become educators, artists, and students; and more than that, they have tried three years ago to establish the first school for the higher education of women in Central Europe, and did establish at Prague a private school to prepare women for the university of that city; and the Reichsrath has said that just as soon as the women of Bohemia get the young women prepared for the university, that it shall be open to them, and women will have equal education. The women of Bohemia are now out of their own private money supporting this school, where they have over eighty students studying the classical languages, mathematics, and medicine. More than that, the first two physicians that have been appointed by the government of Austria as state physicians, as army physicians, in the county of Bosnia, are Bohemian women. I know that women in our land are interested in your good work, because I have been requested by the leading newspaper men of Bohemia to keep this Congress before the eyes of our women. I wish that I could make you understand how happy, how proud I am that I can have a part in this great movement, in this great current which is pushing with all its force forward, and which is bound to sweep away all narrow prejudices and put woman where she belongs, by the side of man, as a human being.

### KAETHE SCHIRMACHER OF GERMANY.

If you will give me your attention a few minutes, I will tell you how I happen to be here, because I think it is such a fine illustration of the liberal mindedness of American women. Ever since I heard of the World's Fair at Chicago, I set my heart on being here, because I wanted to see great things, because I wanted to see great men and great women. For a long time I found it very hard to get any opportunity for gratifying my wishes. Then it came to me all at once. We have at the place I live a woman's association, the president of which was asked to take part in the World's Con-

gress. Our president, though she was very sensible to the honor of being invited, could not come; and as I am the secretary of the association, she told me to answer the letter. I did so. At the same time I suggested some subjects for discussion, and one of the subjects, namely, "The Effect of Modern Changes in the Industrial and Social Position of Women upon Their Marriage Prospects," had the good fortune to please the chairman of the committee, so she asked me to come, and I am here. I have a great interest in the question above stated.

KIRSTINE FREDERIKSEN, RECORDING SECRETARY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN AND REPRESENTATIVE OF THE DENMARK DANSK KVINDESAMFUND.

My country is a small one, so small that all its inhabitants might get into the city of New York, but it has been very anxious to be represented at this World's Congress of Women, and has sent four representatives. I for my part stand here with the greetings of nine hundred Danish women, all members of our Danish association of women, which for twenty years has worked hard for the advancement of womankind in every position, in the family, in society, and in public life. As the name of that association tells you, it is national, and it represents every class in the nation. You will find among its members simple-minded country women, hard-working, self-supporting women, who are leading out into new paths for themselves and their kind; and you will find both the high born and the lowly. You will find there those who love liberty and who enjoy the light of the highest education in Copenhagen. You will find among these nine hundred women representatives of our leading families. When they chose to send me over here it was because I, in my daily work, labor for the women and children. We think America the very best place in the world for women and children.

MRS. JOHN HARVIE OF CANADA, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF CANADA.

As Canadian women we scarcely feel like foreigners, but know that we have much in common with our American sisters. We proudly boast the same noble ancestry. Our countries are geographically contiguous, and we are very near together in many respects, so near that we feel we are almost one. It seems to me that we feel the differences more on account of the political lines which separate us. On the higher plane of thought and power we can see and feel that we are one.

As women representing the great sisterhood of women of the world we stand shoulder to shoulder with the long procession moving forward for the emancipation of women in this nineteenth century. We feel assured there will go out from this noble gathering unlimited influences for the enlightenment of our sex, and the strengthening of the tie that binds us all together in a great sisterhood of women, regardless of nationality.

HULDA LUNDIN OF SWEDEN, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SWEDISH LADIES' COMMITTEE.

I am living in a corner of the world which is a small piece of that country inhabited in the olden time by the Vikings. It was a country too small for them, and so they left it and went out to foreign countries. I do not know whether I have any of the blood of those Vikings in my veins, but I do know that I have drunk of their spirit; so I could not stay in my own little country, but have several times left it to go out in the world to see and to study. I have gone to Italy, to France, to Germany, and to many other countries of Europe. But at last I found even that continent too small for me. I had to go farther on, and so I came to the New World, to America. I am happy to be here, and I hope that I

shall feel deeper, that I shall learn more, that I shall be able to work harder for my dear old Sweden when I go back to it.

DR. AUGUSTA STOWE GULLEN OF CANADA, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WOMAN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT ASSOCIATION OF CANADA.

May we not congratulate you and ourselves that we are together permitted to behold this day, a day so representative of woman's advancement toward the goal of her liberty and freedom?

Woman's discovery of her own potentialities is full of prophetic meaning; meaning which can not be more fully explained than in the language of Victor Hugo, who declared that the twentieth century would record the death of war, and the scaffold of dogma, but that man would live. There will be but one country, and that the whole earth; but one hope, and that the whole heaven. All hail to the twentieth century, which shall own our children, and which our children shall inherit.

MRS. FOSTER OF CANADA.

I have just one word to say, and that is that this Congress of Representative Women is starting a greater electric current than any that Edison ever started. He has done a great deal, and we are to see in the White City such exhibitions of electricity as the world has never seen before, but I believe that an electric current has been started by this Congress and will continue to be carried on by its influence that will arouse the women of the whole world, and that we shall see such results as we have never even dreamed of.

MARY MCDONNELL OF CANADA, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE DOMINION WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

With sentiments of the deepest gratitude we acknowledge the debt we owe the women of this republic, not forgetting

the pioneers of the woman suffrage movement. When we recall the scorn and ridicule so needlessly hurled and so patiently endured, we are reminded that martyrs have made smooth the path we now tread. Our hearts go out in loving sympathy to the women who drove the van cart of this movement for woman's freedom; the pioneers who endured all the persecutions that narrow minds could inflict while clearing away false sentiment that was found blocking every avenue to human progress. Opinions, it is said, govern the world, but ideals draw souls, and in truth women from all nations have been drawn to this one common center by one common ideal.

ELIZABETH M. TILLEY OF CANADA, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE DOMINION BRANCH OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER OF THE KING'S DAUGHTERS AND SONS.

We were introduced as foreign delegates, but I assure you that we don't feel like that at all. We are more like members of the same family, with some slight differences perhaps, but all the same we are of one kin, and in coming here we feel that we have come among our friends and relatives. As Mrs. Harvie remarked before, there is nothing but the custom-house that seems to divide us. We hope some day there may be a change there.

LAURA ORMISTON CHANT OF ENGLAND, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE BRITISH SECTION OF THE WORLD'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION, OF THE CENTRAL NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE, AND OF THE UNIVERSAL PEACE SOCIETY.

I come to you this morning as a simple messenger from the mother country to say how my heart is beating to think of the great dream that you have thrown into realization

to-day. If you and I could but look forward to the future and see how five hundred years to come they will look back to us, the happy men and the happy women, the happier all the world over for the realization of this great dream, we should feel even gladder than we do; but this morning our hearts are taken up in fraternal greeting; we are shaking hands with all the world, with no distinctions of race, or creed, or time, or nationality. We are all one, children of one common Father, sunning ourselves in the magnificence of our common humanity. We stand before our Father, God, men and women, two halves of this great human race, confessing that on both rests the great work of lifting the world out of its sorrow into the joy of which we have sighted the shore this morning. To-day you have touched in this great Congress the divine majesty of woman. Oh, how one's heart aches to think how many there are who will not yet be able to take in the great thought, who have not yet room enough in their hearts to house this magnificent conception. But for you and for me, who have had room enough, by means of sorrow, by means of great love, by means of long work and self-abnegation, by means of communion with the highest and loftiest teachers, to you and myself, who have housed this magnificent conception, what henceforth, dear women, is our vocation in this great life of ours? What is the duty that is forever laid upon our shoulders after this morning, after this great event? It is that we shall go on being the creators of this noble order of womanhood, God's world over, in whatever country and under whatever name, and speaking whatever outward language.

### MARGARET V. PARKER OF SCOTLAND.

I am glad to find myself here to-day, because I had the honor of moving the first resolution out of which the first international council of women proceeded. We were giving

a reception to your noble women, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Saint Susan B. Anthony, in Liverpool, when I submitted this resolution.

NICO BECK-MEYER OF DENMARK, REPRESENTATIVE OF DE SAMLEDE KVINDEFORENINGEN.

The Danish women of the Associated Women's Union of Denmark, to-day send their greetings to their sisters, the American women, with their deepest wishes for success and blessing on the work of this Congress. Calm as the land of our homelike Denmark is, that peaceful country of meadows and of lakes, so is the character of our nation calm; but where its interest once becomes aroused it is interested in earnest; therefore I say if there were any possibility of it, every progressive woman of Denmark would be in this building.

It is strange how little influence distance has. Distance is nothing. Difference among nations is nothing. Time is nothing. It is all eternity. And if we have an open eye we shall see that when work is commenced in one country the same kind of work is, on account of the power of the spirit, commenced in other countries at the same time.

MERI TOPPELIUS OF FINLAND, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE FINSK QVINNOFORENING.

The first International Council of Women, at Washington, in 1888, was of great importance to all the women's associations in the world, and the result of that Council will forever be a blessing to the women everywhere. Now this, the third one, is the second in America, and will, as it is an auxiliary to the World's Exposition, be of still greater importance. In the last decade strength of coöperation has been more and more considered among the

women's associations in the world. Therefore the women in all civilized lands are feeling both proud and gratified by an invitation to an international woman's congress. My own beloved native land, Finland, does not have any political prominence, but in an international battle on the field of intelligence it has always been in the front rank. The women of Finland have faithfully and enthusiastically worked for the progress of mankind in knowledge and truth. The women in Finland believe in coöperation, and therefore they work in associations for women's rights; the oldest one of these is the Finsk Qvinnoforening, the Finlandish women's association, founded in 1888. The president of the association, Alexandra Gripenberg, represented it at the International Council at Washington, and brought us many new thoughts and impressions from the New World. As I have the honor to represent the same association at this World's Congress, I desire to bear to the president of the International Council of Women, and to the representative women of the world present to-day, the cordial regard and greeting of Finland.

## Editorial Comment.

It is believed that the preceding extracts show the significance of the Congress to those participating in it more clearly than any formal statement could. Unfortunately many of the foreign delegates whose knowledge of English was imperfect, were deterred by the diffidence thus caused from speaking at the opening sessions. Still more unfortunately the representatives of Italy, Iceland, and Siam did not arrive until after the close of the Congress, and those of Spain and Syria were too late for the opening sessions. The utterances on subsequent occasions of the delegates from these countries prove, however, that had they been present, their contributions would have been but variations of the prevailing note.

"To him who hath ears to hear" their voices all unite in the following simple proclamation:

Woman has attained her majority; she recognizes herself as an individual, and is entering with conscious responsibility into her inheritance of this world as joint heir with man; joint heir of its labors, joint heir also of its rewards. In her possession of liberty woman founds her claim of equality; and she sees that acknowledged equality with man is the only possible basis of permanent and satisfactory coöperation with him. The method of attaining such coöperation is indicated in the following address, the last delivered in the Congress:

THE ECONOMY OF WOMAN'S FORCES THROUGH ORGANIZATION — ADDRESS BY MAY WRIGHT SEWALL OF INDIANA, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE OF ORGANIZATION.

The subject which I am to present is "The Economy of Woman's Forces through Organization." It is the most important question that confronts either the men or the women of our time. We have reached nearly the end of a marvelous week, a week from which many events in the history of progress will be dated; but when the history of this week shall be accurately and completely written, the one feature of it that will stand out most conspicuously will be its vast extravagance. What prodigal expenditure of time, money, and strength has been poured into this Congress, simply because to convene it we were obliged to bring together isolated individuals from the ends of the earth who have stood for ideas, about which should have gathered great national organizations; to reach whom we have been forced to address each one separately. It is true that it is the glory of this Congress to have convened one hundred and twenty-six national organizations of women, or organizations approxi-

mately national. But what are one hundred and twenty-six national organizations, each of which holds itself distinct from every other of the one hundred and twenty-five? What are they compared to what they might be if linked together in organized form? Take for example the fifty-seven national organizations of women in the United States, representatives from which have been gathered in this Congress. If all of the fifty-seven had been made one body, however loose the bonds that bound them together, what an easy thing it would have been to send along the line all of the watchwords necessary to advise every member of the preparations for this great Congress. But with the exception of the fourteen national organizations that are linked together in the National Council of Women of the United States, each stands by itself alone; and for the most part each stands by itself in proud isolation, apparently unconscious of the fact that its isolation is its weakness. Therefore to gather them together, to each society had to be sent the letters and the documents; to each one had to be sent letter upon letter to convince those at its head that coming into this Congress did not mean yielding up its individuality. It is painful to consider the record of this correspondence, to estimate the time and strength that have been put into over ten thousand letters and forty-five thousand documents; each of the former addressed and mailed by itself; each committed to an individual with the hope that that particular individual would possess a heart and a head capable of comprehending the magnificent generosity of the idea underlying the plan. It is a story of tremendous waste. Do I tell it now to mourn over and deplore it? Nay, but simply to call you to face the fact. Now that it is over, and now that all of the representatives of each of the organizations which finally gave their adhesion to the Congress find their own character untouched, excepting only as they have been quickened and magnified; find their own individuality unimpaired; their own identity not permanently lost, but found in a larger identity than

any they had ever dreamed of before, we may perhaps dispassionately discuss the idea.

Not an organization has held a department congress under the roof of this Art Palace without experiencing the economy of organizing along these large lines; because every department congress has had provided for it an audience outside of itself. We know that whenever an organization holds its semi-annual, its annual, its biennial, or its triennial meeting, as the case may be, it gathers to itself as participants and audiences only those people who already believe in it, who already are a part of it, who already have given their adhesion to the idea for which it stands. Is it not true that the National American Woman's Suffrage Association, holding its little department congress in Hall III, had an opportunity to place before people who never before had heard them, the arguments upon which the advocates of suffrage base their claim?

Is it not equally true that the department congress of our Catholic sisters had a Protestant hearing that its members never would have obtained from the annual meetings of their own societies? That the temperance women found strangers coming into their meeting? That the women who stand for the higher education, and who ordinarily convene no one in their sessions excepting members of the alumnæ association and the mothers of daughters who are reaching the age when the question whether they are going to have the higher education must be settled, saw in their meetings other people who are not wont to consider problems of the higher education?

I venture to speak of another association in which I am deeply interested, and to say that I believe for the refining, elevating, and enlarging ideal which is personified in the Federation of Clubs, it was a most felicitous circumstance to meet here in a congress where were convened for other purposes many women who are not club women. If that association had held its own congress, under its own name, isolated from everything else,

only club women would have come to it. Here is one economy; it is by no means the only one.

I have spoken of the great extravagance of this Congress; but great as has been its extravagance, how much greater would have been the cost of convening each one of the organizations composing it at a separate time? Each doing all its own printing, not being mentioned at all on the documents of other organizations; each organization writing all the letters for itself, not being named at all in the letters that were sent out from any general headquarters; each engaging its own hall; each securing its own reporters and stenographers, and making its own arrangements with the Associated Press and the daily press? What do you think would have been the relative cost of holding all of the meetings that have been held within this building under the auspices of the one committee, if each one had been held under the auspices of its own separate committee? The cost would have been multiplied by the number of associations that have been convened. Therefore, while this Congress has been a vast extravagance, it has illustrated a vast economy.

However, up to this point I have spoken only of the baser forms of economy — the economy of money, of physical strength, and of time. Valuable as is money; more valuable as is physical strength; more valuable than both as is time, there are things still more valuable than money, strength, and time. Spiritual force, sympathy, a sense of the relations that exist between one set of people and another set of people, an appreciation of the relation that exists between one idea and another idea, all of these things are infinitely more valuable than those I have hitherto enumerated. Yet all of these things are utterly disregarded when we hold ourselves in a state of isolation. It is only, as every woman who has spoken on this platform, illustrating her statement from the standpoint of the idea for which she has spoken, has said — it is only when one adds herself to another, in the recognition of a common

interest, of a common motive, of a common ideal, that the two find they can accomplish twice the task with half the effort. If this be true of the individuals that unite themselves into associations, is it not equally true of the associations that unite themselves together for large purposes for which no association by itself stands, but which all together can accomplish?

For what does such organization as we have witnessed this week stand? It stands as an illustration of one of the most important subjects on the week's programme; it stands for a recognition of THE SOLIDARITY OF HUMAN INTERESTS. No paper that has been presented in the general Congress has more beautifully, more forcibly enunciated and advocated that doctrine than a paper presented in the Department Congress of the International Council of Women. There Frau Bieber-Boehm gave her idea of the International Council from the standpoint of moral education; she said: "It is only when the women of every country have made the highest possible moral claim, viz.: that there shall be but one moral standard for both men and women, and that that shall be, not the standard by which we now measure men, but the standard by which we now measure women; not until all the nations of the world shall have adopted that standard," said she, "can I work to a successful issue in my society in Berlin, which stands for the moral protection of the young." It was a true word. We may illustrate it along all the lines of effort that have been presented in this Congress, and there is no line of effort that has been presented here from which any of us can afford to hold ourselves isolated. Consider industry. To-night Miss Addams (known in connection with Hull House) told us that hitherto woman has stood in the industrial world as a casual, simply because she has stood in the industrial world unorganized; each woman unrelated to every other woman, each woman regarding every other woman as her competitor, and because her competitor, her enemy. Consider education. We all know the enormous

failure that results from attempting to educate a nation on the system of private, of individual instruction. Whatever tutors, whatever governesses the families of the rich may be able to provide for the petted child in the bosom of its own family, little will it avail if all the other children in the community are left uneducated. Education must be organized in order that there may be a common ideal, that there may be a touch of common ambition; that one young woman may be an incentive to another young woman, and one young man to another young man. It is only as education is organized in systems of schools and colleges that the highest possible culture can result. If this is true of industry and education, it is equally true of moral and social reform. This has been illustrated a thousand times over by the papers and discussions in the various congresses during the last week. The lesson of it all has been — "I can keep my children pure only if you keep your children pure; my child must be affected, even to infection, so long as he breathes the atmosphere of the children who are not measured by the same moral standard by which I try to measure him." That is what organization along moral lines means. What of organization in its relation to civil liberty? We have the history of our own country back of us, and we know very well that civil liberty would never have been obtained for any one if all had not been consciously related to one another by virtue of a common need. We know that the town meeting in which the men of the little country districts used to meet, the larger organization of the county, and the still larger organization of the State were necessary in order to secure the still greater organization of a United States, and that only through the demand for civil liberty by men already organized was civil liberty obtained. So along all lines of effort. If each of us had had to make the struggle of life alone, we know that no one ever could have advanced beyond the most debased barbarism. It is only because even in barbarism the race has found itself

related to itself, and has moved together, that it has moved at all.

This being the lesson of history along whatever line one reads it to the present time, how shall we apply it to to-day's need? What shall be the practical result of this Congress? When five years shall have rolled by, and the time for the next quinquennial session of the International Council of Women shall have arrived, is the same vast amount of unnecessary work to be done in order to bring the women of the world together, or shall we respect the dignity of continuity? Shall we be willing in this development of organized effort to recognize our ancestry? Shall we be willing to see the origin of this great Congress in the little meeting held in Seneca Falls? in a more remote little meeting held in Boston by a number of women organized to secure liberty for the blacks of the South? Shall we then recognize that every one of the organizations represented in this Congress was necessary to the making such a Congress possible? The International Council of 1888 was the first conscious step toward this Congress, all the steps that preceded it having been necessary for that, but not consciously having been taken toward that goal. The Universal Congress of Women, convened in Paris in 1889, was the second conscious, intentional step on the same road. The first triennial session of the National Council of our own country, in 1891, was the third step toward this Congress, and this may be but a fourth step toward an assembly as much surpassing this in numbers, in objects, in organization, in effort, in accomplishment, as this surpasses the first puny band of women ever organized. It is only necessary that the continuity of the work shall be respected. If each one of us insists in moving along in a series of unrelated spasms, never will the world of women be organized.

This morning, at a meeting of the foreign delegates with the regularly elected delegates of organizations belonging to councils in our own country, in France, and in Belgium, where national councils are already firmly organized, and

in Canada,* Finland, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, where they are partially organized, it was determined to appoint some woman in every nation represented in this great Congress of Representative Women to stand in her country for the national and international council idea. The council idea means the grouping of organizations into an organization in which individual membership shall be unknown; wherein every organization which is national in its character or in its scope shall be represented. Thus the council will be a republic of ideas. That is what a world's council of women should be — a republic of ideas.

The national council is a republic composed of national organizations, each standing for a separate purpose. The international council is a republic composed of national councils. We who believe in this national and international council idea see as its ultimate incarnation a PERMANENT INTERNATIONAL PARLIAMENT OF WOMEN, with its meetings at regularly appointed intervals, where not only the questions which are supposed peculiarly to concern womankind shall be discussed, but where all the great questions that concern humanity shall be discussed from the woman's point of view. Such an INTERNATIONAL PARLIAMENT OF WOMEN is the logical outcome, the necessary evolution of such a meeting as we have held during the past week. The hearts of all the greatest women of all the nations represented here are fired with this conception. They will be lured on by this ideal until this ideal shall have been realized, and the next ideal to captivate the imaginations and compel the activities of the true leaders of society will be the INTERNATIONAL PARLIAMENT OF MEN AND WOMEN, WHEREIN WILL BE LEGISLATED THE QUESTIONS THAT CONCERN THE WORLD.

* The organization in Canada has been completed since May, with the Countess of Aberdeen as its president.

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,
Chairman Committee on Organization for the World's Congress of Representative Women.

## CHAPTER II.— PREPARATIONS.

INCEPTION OF THE IDEA OF THE CONGRESS — APPOINTMENT OF THE COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS — CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PRESIDENT BONNEY, OF THE WORLD'S CONGRESS AUXILIARY, AND MRS. SEWALL, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS, SHOWING THE GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE PLAN — THE CHAIRMAN'S WORK ABROAD — THE PRELIMINARY ADDRESS — THE FULL PROGRAMME.

THE World's Congress of Representative Women was convened in the city of Chicago on the 15th day of May, 1893, under the auspices and the control of the World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition. The organization and the work of the World's Congress Auxiliary are so well known that they do not need detailed statement in this volume. The following paragraphs are taken from the official publications of the Auxiliary:

The World's Congress Auxiliary is not only the accredited representative of the World's Columbian Exposition, but also of the Government of the United States, for the following purposes:

The general object of the Auxiliary is to convene in the city of Chicago, during the Exposition season of 1893, a series of world's congresses in every department of thought. Its official announcement has been sent to foreign countries by the President of the United States, and the various governments have been invited by the Department of State to appoint delegates, in addition to those who will attend as the representatives of institutions and societies.

The chief purpose of the Auxiliary is to procure the maturest thought of the world on all the great questions of the age in a form best adapted to universal publication. Unprepared discussion or miscellaneous debate will not be desirable, but instead thereof the time at disposal after the delivery of a discourse will be given to the most eminent persons present, who will speak on the call of the presiding officer and to whom such previous notice as may be practicable will be given. The summaries of progress to be presented and the problems of the age to be stated will not be submitted to the vote of those present, but will be published for subsequent deliberate

examination by the enlightened minds of all countries; for unrestricted discussion in the forum, the pulpit, and the public press; and, finally, for the impartial judgment of that exalted public opinion which expresses the consensus of such minds.

The work of the Auxiliary has been divided into nineteen great departments, with more than one hundred divisions in which congresses are to be held. Each division has its own local committee of arrangement, and each committee has its own advisory council, composed of eminent representatives, selected from different parts of the world, who are interested in the subject to which it pertains.

The officers of this body are as follows: President, Charles C. Bonney; vice-president, Thomas B. Bryan; treasurer, Lyman J. Gage; secretaries, Benjamin Butterworth and Clarence E. Young. The officers of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary are Mrs. Potter Palmer, president, and Mrs. Charles Henrotin, vice-president.

The inception of the World's Congress of Representative Women may be traced back to February, 1891, when the National Council of Women of the United States, then in session in Washington, D. C., decided to recommend to the officers of the International Council of Women that the first quinquennial session of the International Council should be held in Chicago in the summer of 1893 instead of in London as originally intended. This decision was reinforced by the very cordial invitation of Mrs. Potter Palmer, who attended the sessions of the National Council as the delegate of the Board of Lady Managers, and as president of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary. In her address before the Council Mrs. Palmer said: "The Board of Lady Managers most cordially and pressingly invites this Council to hold its international meeting in Chicago at the time of the Columbian Exposition, when it will place at the service of the ladies the Assembly Room in the Woman's Building, and, should that not prove large enough, through our Congress Auxiliary, the magnificent Auditorium can be secured for the meeting of the International Council of Women."*

* Printed Transactions of the National Council of Women, page 317.

This invitation was supplemented by a similar one from Mrs. Charles Henrotin, vice-president of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary, who also was in attendance at the Council sessions.

In pursuance of the plan thus initiated, the American officers of the International Council obtained the consent of the foreign officers to the proposed change from London to Chicago. The Executive Committee of the National Council of Women of the United States pledged the National Council to entertain free of expense all foreign delegates while in attendance upon the proposed meeting of the International Council.

The call for the meeting of the International Council in Chicago was promptly issued, accompanied by the pledge of entertainment above referred to, and both call and pledge were given wide publicity through the home and foreign press, and through private and official correspondence, in the early summer of 1891. The documents bear date May 31, 1891.

In due time, as the plan of the World's Congress Auxiliary developed, the officers of the National Council of Women of the United States entered into correspondence with the Hon. Charles C. Bonney, president of the World's Congress Auxiliary, requesting that the quinquennial meeting of the International Council of Women, announced for the summer of 1893, should be adopted as one of the series of congresses organized by the Auxiliary, with the understanding that its scope should be enlarged to the greatest possible extent; that it should take the name of "The World's Congress of Representative Women;" and that it should be subject to the same rules and enjoy the same privileges as the other congresses in the series.

This formal application from the officers of the National Council of Women of the United States was made by its president, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, of Indianapolis, under date of May 29, 1892. In reply President Bonney wrote as follows, under date of June 1, 1892: "To Mrs. May Wright

Sewall, president National Council of Women of the United States, Indianapolis, Ind. Dear Madam: The application of the National Council of Women of the United States for a World's Congress of Representative Women, in the series of congresses to be held at Chicago during the Exposition season of 1893, under the auspices of the World's Congress Auxiliary, is allowed, and, in accordance with your request, the week beginning May 15, 1893, is assigned for the proposed congress." Mr. Bonney, at the request of the officers of the Woman's Branch of the Auxiliary, at once appointed Mrs. May Wright Sewall chairman of the committee in charge of the preparations for this congress. Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, corresponding secretary of the National and International Councils of Women, was made the secretary of the committee. To these two ladies was thus committed the task of laying the plans, shaping the programme, and corresponding with leading organizations and individuals in all countries, with a view to securing their support and participation. The committee was completed by the addition of Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson, Dr. Julia Holmes Smith, Mrs. John C. Coonley, Miss Frances E. Willard, Mrs. Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, and Mrs. William Thayer Brown, all of Chicago. All the work of this committee was subject to the approval of the head of the Congress Auxiliary, Hon. Charles C. Bonney, of Chicago, and also to that of the president and the vice-president of the Woman's Branch of the Auxiliary, Mrs. Potter Palmer and Mrs. Charles Henrotin, both of Chicago.

The following extracts from the initial correspondence between President Bonney, of the Congress Auxiliary, and Mrs. May Wright Sewall, president of the National Council of Women, will show in clear detail the gradual development of the plan, from the mere holding of a session of the International Council of Women to the convening of a World's Congress of Representative Women.

There are unavoidable repetitions in the following letters and in the preliminary address, which it is hoped will be

pardoned in consideration of the importance of setting forth fully the preparatory steps of this great undertaking.

INDIANAPOLIS, May 19, 1892.

HON. CHARLES C. BONNEY, *President of the World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition.*

MY DEAR SIR: At the recent meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Council of Women of the United States, held in Chicago on May 9th and 10th, it was decided to make to the board which you represent certain requests.

May I preface these requests with a statement explanatory of the character of the International Council? In the year 1888, at the close of the International Council of Women, convened in Washington, D. C., two permanent organizations were effected — the National Council of Women of the United States and the International Council of Women, representing the world. It was decided that the International Council should be convened in five years, that is, in 1893, and it was then intended to convene it in London. However, when the Columbian Exposition was set for 1893, Chicago became the proper place for the meeting of the International Council. More than a year ago, at the first triennial meeting of the National Council of Women of the United States, Mrs. Potter Palmer of Chicago offered the National Council a room in the Woman's Building for its headquarters during the Columbian Exposition; and Mrs. Charles Henrotin, in speaking for the Congress Auxiliary, assured the Council that, in making preparations for convening the International Council in Chicago, reliance could be placed upon the board managing the Congress Auxiliary for help in securing ample announcements, halls for the sessions, printing, etc.

Supported by these voluntary pledges of Mrs. Palmer and Mrs. Henrotin, the National Council commenced its correspondence one year ago, issued its preliminary call, and undertook to entertain all foreign delegates during the time of the sessions of the International Council in Chicago. To give you a fuller comprehension of the scope of both International and National Councils, I shall send you herewith a copy of the report of the first sessions of each body.

With this preliminary statement, may I set forth our requests? First, we should be glad to have the International Council of Women convene prior to the World's Woman's Temperance Congress, because, as it does not exist for the promotion of any one object, but for the cultivation of a larger mutual sympathy and intelligence among the advocates of different objects, it seems proper that it should precede and introduce the other congresses. Second, if the first request cannot be granted, or in any case, we desire to be authorized to issue our call for an indefinite approximate date between May 15th and June 15th, 1893. Third, we wish to have fourteen public sessions of the Council, which will necessitate the Council's lasting one

week at the very least. Fourth, we desire to apply for one of the large auditoriums and for five of the smaller rooms in the Art Palace, during the sessions of the International Council.

From my conversation with you on last Saturday, I feel confident that you will be able to accede to our requests. It seems necessary to issue a preliminary call at once, because it is our intention to secure for our programme the strongest women in the world to represent the different departments of activity in which women are engaged.

Asking such an immediate reply as will warrant the officers of the National Council in assuring the officers of the International Council of their ability to redeem pledges already made, and to go forward with necessary correspondence and preparations, I have the honor to subscribe myself,

Yours with high esteem,
MAY WRIGHT SEWALL.

CHICAGO, U. S. A., May 26, 1892.

MRS. MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, *President National Council of Women of the United States, 343 N. Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Ind.*

DEAR MADAM: Your favor of the 19th inst., in which you request an assignment of dates for a congress of your organization, prior to the World's Temperance Congresses to be held during the first week in June, 1893; and, if that request can not be granted, an assignment of some date for such a congress between May 15th and June 15th of next year; and expressing a desire for meetings of your Council, extending through a week, including sessions in one of the large auditoriums of the World's Congress Art Palace, and special meetings in five smaller rooms, came duly to hand, and has received preliminary attention. The communication of the same date, in which Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, corresponding secretary of your Council, joins, has also been received.

While I can not, at this time, make a definite assignment of the Art Palace rooms for the use of your Council, I think it safe to say that arrangements can be made for a congress of your own and allied women's organizations, to be held within one or two weeks of the date fixed for the congresses of the Department of Temperance. I expect to be able to give definite dates for the various congresses by the 1st of July, next.

Should an application be made, as was suggested in your interview with me, for a general congress of women, under the leadership of your organization, to be held during the week commencing May 15, 1893, very much better facilities can be afforded than will be practicable at any later date.

* * * * * * * *

As expressed to you in the interview to which I have referred, it seems to me peculiarly appropriate that in this century, so highly distinguished by the advancement of women in nearly all the departments of human progress, aside from the particular congresses in which her work will, more or less, be set forth, an occasion should be arranged in which a graphic pres-

entation of the whole scope of woman's advancement may be made under the most auspicious circumstances.

Cordially inviting all and any such further suggestions as you may be pleased to make, and awaiting with special interest the decision whether an application for such a woman's congress will be made, I am, my dear Mrs. Sewall,

Very sincerely yours,
CHARLES C. BONNEY,
*President World's Congress Auxiliary.*

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., May 28, 1892.

HON. CHARLES C. BONNEY, *President of the World's Congress Auxiliary, Chicago, Ill.*

MY DEAR SIR: Yours of May 26th, in reply to mine of the 19th inst., has been duly received and carefully read. I fear that my request was less definitely and carefully made than I intended it to be. I intended it to be framed in strict accordance with the general understanding reached in our interview. What the officers of the National Council really desire is this—that a general congress of women shall be convened under the leadership of the National Council of Women of the United States.

We wish it to be prefatory to all other meetings of women, and the only reason that I did not specify the week beginning May 15th was because I understood that you preferred the request as to date to be more general. If you can at once grant permission to convene this congress at this date, our organization will gladly avail itself of this time.

We expect to be subject to the general rules and regulations of the World's Congress Auxiliary, and feel that our own work will be dignified by this association. * * *

If I receive a favorable reply, as from the tone of your letter and of our interview I anticipate, I shall at once issue the preliminary address in conjunction with the president of the International Council for this general congress of women. I have the honor to remain,

Yours very sincerely,
MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,
*President of National Council of Women of the United States.*

CHICAGO, U. S. A., June 1, 1892.

MRS. MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, *President National Council of Women of the United States, Indianapolis, Ind.*

DEAR MADAM: Your favor of May 28th was duly received, and has had attention. The application of the National Council of Women of the United States for a World's Congress of Representative Women, in the series of congresses to be held in Chicago during the Exposition season of 1893, under the auspices of the World's Congress Auxiliary, is allowed, and

in accordance with your request the week beginning May 15, 1893, is assigned for the proposed congress. * * *

As in all the other cases, the general sessions of the congress will be under the direction of the World's Congress Auxiliary, and, as in other cases of congresses of women, under the special supervision of the officers of the Woman's Branch of the Auxiliary; but, of course, in those general sessions your own and other general organizations of women will be most conspicuously represented. The sessions of the congress of your own organization will, of course, be held under your own officers; and the same rule will apply to any other organization, like the Federation of Women's Clubs.

To secure the necessary unity and completeness of the programme for the entire Congress of Women, the programmes for the various sessions, both general and special, will be arranged in a conference with representatives of the important interests involved.

All to whom I have mentioned the matter believe that the proposed congress of representative women of the world may be made a brilliant and imposing success. * * *

I have the honor to remain,

Very sincerely yours,

CHARLES C. BONNEY,

*President World's Congress Auxiliary.*

SOMERTON, PHILADELPHIA, PA., June 13, 1892.

HON. CHARLES C. BONNEY, *President of the World's Congress Auxiliary.*

MY DEAR SIR: Your two letters of June 1st and June 4th, together containing very full replies to mine of May 28th, have been carefully re-read with Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, the corresponding secretary of the National Council of Women, with whom I have conferred upon every point.

We thank you for the ample information your letters afford concerning the general plan of the World's Congress Auxiliary, and the requirements with which all associations must comply which seek to hold meetings under its auspices in Chicago, in 1893. As we understand them, we find all of these requirements not only reasonable, but helpful. That we may be guarded against any possible misconception, and be able to prosecute our work energetically during the summer, will you permit me to recapitulate the situation at some length?

*First.* All announcements of this General International Council of Women must bear on their title page the names of the officers of the World's Congress Auxiliary, and of the different officers of the Woman's Branch of said Auxiliary; but may be signed by the names of the Local Committee of Arrangements and of the Advisory Councils.

*Second.* The chairmanship of the Local Committee of Arrangements is offered to me. This I accept, and pledge myself to come to Chicago as frequently, prior to the meetings, as may be necessary to perform the duties implied by the position. * * *

*Third.* In our subsequent calls and programmes we shall wish, besides our local committee, to provide for two Advisory Councils — one American and one foreign. * * *

In respect to these Advisory Councils, we ask these privileges. We ask to have the summer to correspond with leaders, at home and abroad, within and outside of organizations. In this way we shall prepare representative lists – representative both of diverse ideas and also of widely separated territory, home and foreign. Before publishing these lists they will be submitted to you for amendment, both by excision and by addition. Our organization includes so many different groups that we believe this is the best possible means of securing truly representative names on our two Advisory Councils.

*Fourth.* We accept May 15th as the date of this international congress, knowing that it may be shifted a few days later, but understanding that it shall not be set earlier than that date. * * *

*Fifth.* Our desire about the programme is your own. We wish every line of progress along which woman has advanced to be represented on the programme by its ablest exponent. We wish to avoid repetition within our own programme, and also to avoid duplicating in our programme the papers to be presented in subsequent congresses. Therefore, we shall gladly submit to you every name and topic, and shall expect the aid of your counsel at every step.

*Sixth.* The correspondence involved in the foregoing statements will be largely in the hands of Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, who is corresponding secretary of the International as well as the National Council of Women, though I shall also give my time to coöperating with her and with Mrs. Fawcett to secure the success of this gigantic undertaking.

You understand that the work of the National Council to this end was begun one year ago, on May 30, 1891, when its Executive Committee passed a resolution to entertain all foreign delegates who should attend the International Council of Women to be convened in Chicago during the Columbian Exposition of 1893. This resolution was sent at that time to the leaders of all organized effort in foreign countries, and for the past year such leaders have been working with this meeting in view; National Councils have been formed in France, Scandinavia, and Finland similar to our own, while in other countries leaders have been working toward such a consummation.

You will see from this that we are now prepared for public steps.

*Seventh.* The first public step is the second preliminary address, the first having been issued through women's papers at home and abroad nearly a year ago.

We suppose that it will be your desire to have this address printed in a style uniform with the preliminary addresses of other congresses and issued from your office. I mail you herewith the copy of the address that seems appropriate to us. We, of course, wish this congress to have the prestige which can come from showing its relation to former International Councils

of Women. Should you wish to revise the address in any way, will you kindly communicate with Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery? And in any case will you send her a proof of the address before it is published? I am myself going abroad for a few weeks, my main purpose being to arouse the women of Germany and of other countries where there is less public activity among women than there is in England and France, to a sense of what this General Congress of Women will be to all who participate or who are represented in it. So soon as this preliminary address is issued, will you kindly send me a hundred copies to distribute abroad? I shall also see that it is translated and published in progressive foreign papers. * * *

*Eighth.* Your plan of presenting as many different celebrities as possible to the audience, and of "distributing honors and dignities," is in entire accord with the fundamental ideas upon which the International and National Councils are based. I assure you we do not wish to exclude, but to include, as many different lines of work, as many different exponents of progressive thought, and as many distinguished women as can be convened, by the continual, harmonious effort of all of us, in the International Council of 1893, which will, I suppose, be known as the General World's Congress of Women.

We do, of course, wish to recognize the continuity of effort which makes this congress, in its magnitude and representative character, possible. This is clearly indicated in our preliminary address and call.

Copies of this letter and of the manuscript of the address will be sent to Mrs. Palmer and Mrs. Henrotin, that they may have a clear conception of our view of the plan and the manner in which it is to be executed.

I thank you, dear Mr. Bonney, in advance for the patience which you will exercise in reading this long letter, and beg to assure you that I am profoundly grateful for the cordial sympathy which you have thus far given us, and which I am certain you will continue to extend to us until our plans are accomplished. I have the honor to remain,

Yours with high esteem,

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,

*President of National Council of Women of the United States.*

With the letter of June 13th, above given, was sent the manuscript copy of the Preliminary Address, copies being forwarded also to the president and the vice-president of the Woman's Branch of the World's Congress Auxiliary. Immediately after the dispatch of these documents the chairman of the Committee of Arrangements sailed for Europe, leaving further correspondence in charge of the secretary, who received from Mr. Bonney, under date of June 27th, the following communication, approving the draft of the Pre-

liminary Address and the various propositions offered by the chairman in her letter of June 13th.

CHICAGO, U. S. A., June 27, 1893.

MRS. RACHEL FOSTER AVERY, *Corresponding Secretary of the National Council of Women, United States, Somerton, Pa.*

DEAR MADAM: Please accept my thanks for your recent favors. Your note of the 17th inst., inclosing a copy of the constitution of the National Council of Women, and a copy of the constitution of the International Council, came duly to hand; and the communication of your president, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, accompanied by a draft of the Preliminary Address of the Committee on a World's Congress of Representative Women, had previously been received. I have taken time to reconsider carefully the whole subject of the proposed congress, and I take pleasure in saying that I am strongly confirmed in the conviction expressed to you, Mrs. Sewall, and others, that this congress may be one of the most brilliant and useful in the entire series proposed by the World's Congress Auxiliary. I am also glad to say that the proposed Preliminary Address, and the views expressed by Mrs. Sewall in her communication, have my hearty approval; and while I will reserve the liberty to make any suggestions for which there may seem to be cause hereafter, I do not now see occasion to advise any change in the plans thus far outlined.

* * * I propose that the Woman's Congress shall have a department of its own, to be called the "Department of Woman's Progress." This will be better than assigning such a congress either to the Department of Moral and Social Reform, or to the General Department. Any suggestions in relation to the title of the new department will be cordially received.

Please have the kindness to convey to Mrs. Sewall, with the foregoing information, my high regard and my congratulations on the auspicious outlook for the Congress of Representative Women.

With the like respect and congratulations for yourself, I remain, my dear Mrs. Avery,

Very sincerely yours,

CHARLES C. BONNEY,

*President World's Congress Auxiliary.*

The Executive Committee of the National Council of Women, at a meeting held in Chicago on May 9th and 10th, had authorized the President of the Council, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, to represent the interests of the Council in Europe during the summer of 1892, with a view to increase foreign interest in the proposed meeting of the International Council of Women in Chicago in May, 1893.

After this proposed meeting of the International Council of Women had been merged into the greater project of a World's Congress of Representative Women under the auspices of the World's Congress Auxiliary, Mrs. Sewall naturally devoted herself, during the three months spent in Germany, Belgium, and France, in the ensuing summer, to awakening among the prominent women with whom she came in contact an interest in the proposed World's Congress of Representative Women. While invested with no official authority to represent the Auxiliary, Mrs. Sewall was greatly aided in her efforts by her position as chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, and by her connection with the National and International Councils of Women, the essential features of which were already well known abroad, and served to divest the idea of a World's Congress of Women of much of the strangeness it would otherwise have assumed in the minds of foreign women.

The main objects to be accomplished in this foreign work were as follows: First, to make clear the distinction between the World's Columbian Exposition, the Board of Lady Managers, the World's Congress Auxiliary, with its Woman's Branch, and the National and International Councils of Women, these bodies being naturally confounded continually, and almost hopelessly, by those who heard of them only through the vague paragraphs of the foreign press; second, to impart a clear understanding of the magnitude of the proposed congress, both as a whole and in its infinite details and subdivisions; third, to show the exact nature of the papers and reports desired from European delegates, and the character of the subjects to be treated; fourth, to stimulate the foreign women to appoint delegates from organizations already existing, and to form new organizations to be represented in like manner; fifth, to encourage individuals to come to Chicago whether connected with organized bodies or not; sixth, to endeavor to reach the general European public through reports, interviews, and articles published in the European press; and, seventh, to

combat unceasingly not only the general apathy in regard to a project so remote in time and place, but also the specific objections everywhere encountered, based upon the date chosen for the congress, which did not fall within the foreign vacation period, upon the length, hazard, and cost of the journey, and upon the grossly exaggerated reports of the expense of living in Chicago, and the heat of Chicago summers.

In Berlin Mrs. Sewall devoted a month to personal interviews with ladies prominent in philanthropy and education, and to informal conferences with groups of ladies representing, among other organizations, the following: The *Scheppeler-Lette Verein*, the *Frauenwohl*, the *Jugendschutz*, the *Vaterländische Frauen-Verein*, the *Edelweiss Verein*, the *Victoria Haus*, the *Victoria Lyceum*, the *Pestalozzi Froebel-Verein*, the *Künstlerinnen- und Schriftstellerinnen-Verein*, the *Mädchen Realschule-Verein*, and the *Volksküchen*. Many of these enjoy the protection of the Empress Frederick.

Among the ladies who were most responsive to her appeals and most influential in spreading a knowledge of the movement among a wider circle were Frau Henriette Schrader, Frau Von Helmholtz, Frau Hedwig Heyl, Frau Elisabet Kaselowsky, Frau Lina Morgenstern, Fräulein Helene Lange, Fräulein Lucie Crain, Frau Dr. Tiburtius-Hirschfeld, Frau Direktor Iessen, Frau Claere Schubert-Feder, Ph. D.; Frau Ulrike Henschke, Fräulein von Hobe, and Frau Hanna Bieber-Boehm.

Mrs. Sewall supplemented her work in Berlin by a visit to Homburg, where she was granted an extended interview with the Empress Frederick, who showed herself deeply interested in the plan of the proposed congress, and declared herself ready to aid by every means in her power in securing an adequate representation of German women in its deliberations.

In Brussels Mrs. Sewall addressed the Belgian Woman's Rights League, an influential organization, whose leaders are Mlle. Marie Popelin, docteur en droit, and M. Louis

Frank, avocat. Mlle. Popelin and M. Frank, by their learning, their high position, their indefatigable labors, and their eloquence with tongue and pen, have powerfully advanced the cause of women in Belgium.

In Paris Mrs. Sewall spoke in the Hall of the Mairie St. Sulpice to a large audience, and devoted the following fourteen days to conferences with the leaders among the women of Paris, singly and in groups. Among the many women of the French capital who deserve mention for their sympathetic interest in this and other causes involving the higher interests of their sex are the following: Mlle. Maria Deraismes, présidente de la *Société du Droit des Femmes;* Mme. Isabelle Bogelot, directrice de *l'Œuvre des Libérées de St. Lazare*, and ex-treasurer of the *International Council of Women;* Mme. Emilie de Morsier; Mme. Maria Martin, directrice du *Journal des Femmes;* Mme. Clémence Royer; Mme. Raymond Pognon; Mme. Nelly Lieutier, of the *Société des Gens de Lettres;* Mme. Térésa Vielé; Mme. Ernesta Urban, présidente de *l'Union Internationale des Sciences et des Arts;* Mme. Griess-Traut, of the *Fédération Féministe de la Paix;* Mlle. Myrtile Rengnet; Mlle. Pauline de Grandpré; Mlle. Ollier, of the *Patronage des Jeunes Filles;* Mme. Marya Chéliga-Loévy; Mme. Aline Valette, of the *Fédération Française des Sociétés Féministes;* Mme. Blanche Edwards-Pilliet, docteur en médicine; Mme. René Marcil, directrice de *l'Esprit de la Femme;* Mlle. Marie Maugeret, directrice de *l'Echo Littéraire de France;* Mme. Eugénie Potonié Pierre, secrétaire *du Groupe de la Solidarité des Femmes.*

In addition to the interest aroused in these influential groups of German, Belgian, and French women by the visit and personal solicitations of the chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, wide publicity was given to her addresses by the press of France, Russia, Belgium, England, and Italy, and thus the scope of the great congress was made known to many thousands of European women of influence in their respective localities.

Mrs. Sewall returned to this country early in September.

Meanwhile Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, in her office at Somerton, Pa., was planning and carrying out a voluminous and searching correspondence with prominent individuals in this and other countries, and especially with the executive officers of every national body of women at home and abroad, preparing the way for the selection and appointment of prominent women from every nation on the Advisory Councils, for the selection of persons to prepare papers for the General Congress and reports for the Report Congresses, and for the formal enrollment of all national organizations of women as members of the World's Congress of Representative Women, entitled to send delegates thereto and to hold department congresses in connection therewith. The responses to the appeals thus made by the secretary were so prompt and so generally sympathetic that it became immediately evident that a wide-spread interest was aroused, and that the success of the congress was assured. Every precaution was taken to place the movement on the broadest possible plane, and thus to allay any apprehensions of unfair treatment that might arise on the part of weaker or younger organizations.

After the simple facts regarding the inception of the plan had been stated, all organizations were placed upon exactly the same level, and all official documents issued reiterated in appropriate terms the assurance that all organizations, whether large or small in membership and influence, stood upon an equal footing in the opportunities granted to each by the committee charged with the preparations for the programme of the great congress. The spirit of fairness was so manifest in all the preliminary work of the committee that organization after organization gave in its formal adhesion to the congress, until scarcely a national woman's organization in the United States or in Europe stood aloof.

The various blanks and forms used by the secretary of the committee in this arduous correspondence may be found in the appendix to this volume, together with documents issued from time to time from the Chicago office.* The

* It has not been thought necessary to reproduce all of these in the appendix; for a partial statement see Appendix "A."

Preliminary Address, issued in September, 1892, the manuscript of which had been sent to the officers of the Woman's Branch of the Auxiliary by the chairman of the committee on June 13th as before related, is of such importance, as being the first general statement given to the world by the committee, and as outlining clearly the history of the movement, its condition in September, 1892, and the committee's plans for the final development and execution of the great project in hand, that it is here given in full, instead of being relegated with other documents to the appendix. Of all the documents issued by the committee it was the most important. It was distributed in French and in English versions by tens of thousands—not at random, but to carefully selected addresses in every civilized country. It was reprinted from time to time substantially without change, either alone or as a part of more comprehensive statements, as the needs of the work required, the latest edition bearing date April 12, 1893, about four weeks before the convening of the congress.

Not Things, but Men.

President, Charles C. Bonney. Treasurer, Lyman J. Gage.
Vice-president, Thomas B. Bryan. Secretary, Benjamin Butterworth.

## THE WORLD'S CONGRESS AUXILIARY OF THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.

Not Matter, but Mind.

THE WOMAN'S BRANCH OF THE AUXILIARY.—Mrs. Potter Palmer, president; Mrs. Charles Henrotin, vice-president.

DEPARTMENT OF WOMAN'S PROGRESS.—Preliminary Address of the Committee on a World's Congress of Representative Women at Chicago, in 1893.

This congress is proposed, not for the purpose of advocating any one cause, of promoting any one doctrine, or of advancing any special propaganda, but for the purpose of bringing together the representatives of all worthy organizations of women, whatever their nationality or their specific object.

In June of 1887 the National Woman Suffrage Association issued a call to the women of the world, stating that on March 25, 1888, an International Council of Women would be convened in Washington, D. C., to celebrate

RACHEL FOSTER AVERY,
Secretary Committee on Organization, World's Congress of Representative Women.

the fortieth anniversary of "the first organized demand for equal educational, industrial, professional, and political rights for women, which was made in a convention held at Seneca Falls, N. Y. (U. S. A.), in the year 1848."

The International Council convened in Washington on the appointed day, and continued its sessions through eight days, adjourning April 1, 1888. Fifty-one national organizations of women and seven different countries were represented in this meeting.

The Council seemed too important to the women participating in its deliberations to permit of its being adjourned and dissolved without taking measures toward a permanent organization of the national and international movements represented in it. Accordingly, on the 31st of March, 1888, the National Council of Women of the United States and the International Council of Women were both formally organized, under the form of constitution hereto appended.* The International Council of Women was officered as follows:

†President, Millicent Garrett Fawcett, England.
Vice-president, Clara Barton, United States.
Corresponding secretary, Rachel Foster Avery, United States.
Recording secretary, Kirstine Frederiksen, Denmark.
Treasurer, Isabelle Bogelot, France.

By the terms of the constitution, meetings of the International Council were to be held quinquennially, and the first was set for five years from its organization, viz., the spring of 1893. It was informally agreed that the first meeting of the International Council should be convened in London, unless, prior to the date fixed for it, circumstances should render it advisable to convene it elsewhere.

In July, 1889, in response to an invitation of the progressive women of France, an International Congress of Women was convened in Paris, under the auspices of the French Government.

The French leaders were generous in repeatedly ascribing the courageous impulse under which they had acted to the council held in Washington the preceding year. Before its adjournment, that congress, composed of delegates representing over one hundred societies and twenty-six different nationalities, by a unanimous vote passed a resolution ‡ approving the permanent International Council of Women, the organization of which had been effected in Washington the preceding year, and pledging its members to work for the establishment of National Councils in their respective countries, and for the dissemination of information concerning the International Council and its objects.

So soon as the United States Government had, through Congress, made provision for celebrating the discovery of America by the World's Columbian Exposition, and had fixed the time and place for such Exposition,

*It is not considered necessary to reproduce these constitutions here.
†Mrs. Fawcett resigned her position as president in June, 1892.
‡See Appendix for the text of this resolution.

the American officers of the International Council at once conceived it to be appropriate, inasmuch as the year fixed for its first meeting coincided with the year for the Exposition, that the International Council should be convened in Chicago during the Exposition season of 1893, the exact date to be hereafter announced. Through correspondence concerning this plan the cordial concurrence of the foreign officers was received. The organization of the World's Congress Auxiliary, under the authority and with the support of the World's Columbian Exposition, and with the recognition and approval of the Government of the United States, affords to the officers of the International Council of Women an unanticipated ally in securing a meeting of the character they desire, viz., a general world's congress of the representative women of the world.

It is desired to convene in this congress not only the delegates of organizations of women, but also women not affiliated with others in any organic relation, who have attained distinction in any line of worthy activity.

It is believed that such a congress of women will be able to present the history of woman's development and progress, and her present status as an acknowledged factor in the worlds of Art, Science, and Industry, and as a potent influence in civil as well as in social and domestic life.

In May, 1891, the National Council of Women of the United States, through its Executive Committee, passed a resolution pledging itself to entertain, during the congress, all delegates attending it from foreign countries.

This was announced to organizations of women wherever known, and in many countries, notably in England, France, Canada, Scandinavia, and Finland, and more recently in Italy, Switzerland, and Germany, the organized activity of women has been quickened by it. Many women in all these countries are planning to attend this congress.

Home and Foreign Advisory Councils will be formed to coöperate by correspondence with the Local Committee of Arrangements, to the end that this congress may be conducted to the distinguished success which the conditions demand. All officers of the International Council will be made members of the Foreign Advisory Council; all officers of the National Council will be made members of the Home Advisory Council.

Women in all parts of the world, interested in any department of intellectual activity, in philanthropy or reform, are solicited to correspond with the chairman of the local committee, or with the secretary of the International Council of Women, and freely suggest topics for discussion in this congress, the names of women who should be invited to present papers or to participate in the discussions of the congress, and also the names of women who should be included in either of the two Advisory Councils.

Every living question pertaining to the education or the employment of women may be discussed in this congress. In its sessions the woman's view upon every issue affecting humanity — upon the Home, the Church, the State, and her own function in these institutions — may be presented. What such a congress may do for the uplifting of humanity if the women

of the world avail themselves of its unique advantages for stating their views of the present condition of the race, of its struggles, its possibilities, its hopes, is incalculable. The aid which such a congress will give to the solution of the hundreds of problems included in what is massed under the phrase, "The Woman Question," is equally beyond measure. Humanity may well entertain eager anxiety regarding the manner in which women will respond to this matchless opportunity.

In issuing this edition of the Preliminary Address, the committee is able to announce the general themes which will be discussed in this congress. Practically these themes will divide the congress into the following general divisions: *First*, education; *second*, industry; *third*, art; *fourth*, philanthropy and charity; *fifth*, moral and social reform; *sixth*, religion; *seventh*, civil law; *eighth*, government.

It must be borne in mind that while congresses in each of the above divisions are provided for in the great scheme of congresses under the management of the World's Congress Auxiliary, these congresses will not take the place of, nor duplicate the work of, the Woman's Congress in the general subjects above given.

In each of the separate congresses, to convene in Chicago during the summer of 1893, women will participate in the degree in which they have taken part in the interest or activity indicated by the title of the congress, and they will discuss the themes presented in such congress accordingly.

In the General World's Congress of Representative Women, however, these great subjects will be viewed from a different standpoint, the object of this congress being to discuss, not the subject *per se*, but the relation of the women of the world to the subject. For example, in the papers and addresses to be presented in the World's Congress of Representative Women, on titles that will come under the general subject of education, it is not desired that Pedagogy, as a science, shall be discussed, but papers of two kinds upon this general theme will be demanded by the character and objects of this particular congress.

*First*. Papers that may, with propriety, be called reports from each country represented in the congress, showing the history of woman's progress in that country in respect to education, and setting forth her present educational opportunities, and the agencies through which these opportunities have been received; and also the objects now sought in each country by its educational leaders.

The object of these reports, which is to ascertain the historical progress and the present status of woman's education in each country, will determine the character of the reports, in which accuracy and statistical detail will be required — qualities which will make these reports invaluable to the student of Pedagogics and of Sociology, but which will in a large degree deprive them of that warmth and eloquence required in addresses that please the ear and stimulate the enthusiasm of such large popular audiences as it is hoped the Congress of Representative Women will convene. Hence the necessity for papers of the second kind, namely: Addresses

upon themes bearing upon the general subject of women in education, under which title many topics can be suggested which would give free play for wit, pathos, illustration, aspiration, and all of the elements of oratory.

What has been above said and suggested concerning the manner in which the subject of education will be treated in this congress, is equally applicable to all of the eight departments under which its work will fall.

According to the present plan, no other congress will be convened during the time of the World's Congress of Representative Women. Therefore, all of the rooms necessary for the meeting of committees, or of groups particularly interested in the same question, will be at the command of the committee having the congress in charge.

What is now necessary is that every society of women into the hands of whose officers this address may come shall immediately send to the chairman or to the secretary of the local committee the names of women for the Advisory Council, the names of women best fitted to prepare reports upon the subjects included under the titles above given, and the names of women able to make the addresses to be delivered before the public sessions of the entire congress.

Every one to whom this Preliminary Address is sent is further solicited to send suggestions as to subjects, titles of papers, etc., suitable for the programme of this congress. The results of the correspondence carried on by the committee during the last four months are an assurance that the plan of the congress has commended itself to the judgment of women everywhere, has aroused enthusiasm and stirred new hopes. Only six months now remain in which to complete the preparations for this congress, and, therefore, prompt response is solicited to every inquiry, whether made directly, or suggested in this appeal.

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, *Chairman*,
343 N. Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
RACHEL FOSTER AVERY, *Secretary*,
Somerton, Philadelphia Co., Pa.

SARAH HACKETT STEVENSON,
FRANCES E. WILLARD,
JULIA HOLMES SMITH,
ELIZABETH BOYNTON HARBERT,
MRS. WM. T. BROWN,
MRS. JNO. C. COONLEY,
Chicago.

*Committee of the World's Congress Auxiliary on a Congress of Representative Women.*

WORLD'S CONGRESS HEADQUARTERS, CHICAGO, December, 1892.*

* This second edition of the Preliminary Address contains everything of importance in the first, and brings the statement down to the above date.

From the time of the return of the chairman of the committee from abroad, in September, 1892, until the opening of the congress, on May 15, 1893, an uninterrupted correspondence was carried on between the chairman of the committee, in Indianapolis, and the secretary of the committee, in Philadelphia; and between these officers and the executive officers of the Auxiliary, in Chicago. This correspondence was summarized and tabulated from time to time, and the results submitted to the Committee of Arrangements, which held meetings in Chicago upon the call of the Woman's Branch of the Auxiliary. Four such meetings, including eight sessions, were held between October 1st and May 15th, and all matters of importance were passed upon after deliberation in full committee. The reports submitted to these meetings by the chairman and the secretary show that from their offices alone there were issued 7,198 sealed letters, home and foreign, and 55,000 printed documents. The records of the Chicago office of the Auxiliary would largely increase these totals.

This correspondence, a considerable portion of which was in foreign languages, occupied the entire time of the chairman of the committee and her secretary, and of the secretary of the committee, with from two to eight clerks in her office, for the nine months ending May 15, 1893.

The greater part of the enormous load was carried by the secretary of the committee, Mrs. Rachel Foster Avery, to whose familiarity with business methods, accuracy in detail, intelligence in plan, skill in execution, comprehensive grasp of multifarious lines of work, and unfailing industry, unstinted praise is due. Without her efficient aid success on the scale actually achieved would have been impossible.

The other ladies included in the Committee of Arrangements, Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson, Dr. Julia Holmes Smith, Mrs. Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, Mrs. William Thayer Brown, Mrs. John C. Coonley, and Mrs. Matilda B. Carse (whom upon her own departure for Europe Miss

Frances E. Willard nominated as her substitutes, rendered invaluable assistance by the weight of their names, by regular attendance upon the meetings of the committee, and by intelligent and sympathetic discussion and decision of the many delicate and puzzling questions that came before them.

Unfailing courtesy, sympathy, and sound advice was expected and received from President Bonney, to whose generous devotion to the great cause intrusted to him was largely due the signal success of the long series of world's congresses of 1893.

Mrs. Potter Palmer manifested toward those engaged in this arduous labor the same fairness of temper, quickness of perception, fertility of resource, soundness of judgment, and unfailing tact that have distinguished her in such marked degree since she entered upon her high position as president of the Board of Lady Managers. Although her exacting duties in other lines did not permit her to attend to the details of the work of this committee, she was frequently present at its meetings, and, whether present or absent, was always felt as a power upon which the committee could rely in every difficulty.

Mrs. Charles Henrotin, as nominal vice-president, and acting president of the Woman's Branch of the Auxiliary, devoted herself with untiring assiduity to the supervision of the countless details involved in organizing the woman's side of the various congresses; and by interviews, correspondence, and personal direction, as presiding officer of the deliberations of the committee, was a potent factor in the preliminary work of the World's Congress of Representative Women.

Recognition should also be made of the unfailing courtesy and cordial coöperation of the secretary of the Auxiliary, Mr. Clarence E. Young.

The preliminary labors outlined above resulted in the completion in good season of the following programme, of which seven editions of 10,000 copies each were distributed

among the audiences that thronged the Art Institute during the memorable week of May 15th to 22d. Every name appearing on this programme was placed there by formal consent of its owner, after adequate correspondence. Each address, discussion, or report for the multitudinous meetings of the congress was pledged in advance. The programme was carried out almost intact; and this fact, combined with careful attention to detail in all matters devolving upon the Committee of Arrangements, contributed very largely to the unprecedented success of the congress, in spite of the many serious inconveniences arising from the use of a temporary structure, in which the workmen were still busy. The building, moreover, was at first devoid of many simple conveniences which the experience of this first congress suggested for the comfort of those that followed it.

PROGRAMME OF THE WORLD'S CONGRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN, MAY 15TH TO 21ST, INCLUSIVE, 1893. MEMORIAL ART PALACE, MICHIGAN AVENUE, FOOT OF ADAMS STREET, CHICAGO.

THE WORLD'S CONGRESS AUXILIARY OF THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION OF 1893.

President, Charles C. Bonney; vice-president, Thomas B. Bryan; treasurer, Lyman J. Gage; secretaries, Benjamin Butterworth, Clarence E. Young.

THE WOMAN'S BRANCH OF THE AUXILIARY.—President, Mrs. Potter Palmer; vice-president, Mrs. Charles Henrotin.

DEPARTMENT OF WOMAN'S PROGRESS.

COMMITTEE ON A WORLD'S CONGRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE WOMEN.—May Wright Sewall, chairman, Indianapolis, Ind.; Rachel Foster Avery, secretary, Somerton, Philadelphia, Pa.; Sarah Hackett Stevenson, M. D.; Julia Holmes Smith, M. D.; Mrs. John C. Coonley, Frances E. Willard, Elizabeth Boynton Harbert, Mrs. William Thayer Brown.

MONDAY, MAY 15, 1893. HALL OF WASHINGTON. GENERAL CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 11 O'CLOCK. FORMAL OPENING OF THE CONGRESS.—Addresses of welcome, Mrs. Potter Palmer, president Woman's Branch of

World's Congress Auxiliary; Mrs. Charles Henrotin, vice-president Woman's Branch of World's Congress Auxiliary. Ode, "Columbia's Emblem" (*Edna Dean Proctor*), Mrs. Albert Barker, England. Address, "The World's Congress of Representative Women," May Wright Sewall. Introduction of foreign representatives and responses on behalf of their respective countries Dr. Emily Howard Stowe, Mrs. John Harvie, Mrs. Dr. Todd, Mrs. Elizabeth M. Tilley, and other representatives from Canada: Jane Cobden Unwin, Florence Fenwick Miller, Marie Fischer Lette, Laura Ormiston Chant, and other representatives from England; Isabelle Bogelot, Ernesta Urban, Cecile Renooz, France; Mme. Quesada, South America; Sigrid E. Magnüsson, Iceland; Marie Stromberg, Russia.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.—Introduction of foreign representatives, continued: Elisabet Kaselowsky, Hanna Bieber-Boehm, Augusta Foerster, Kaethe Schirmacher, Agnes Burchard, Annette Hamminck Schepel, Germany; Kirstine Frederiksen, Nico Beck Meyer, Frederikke Olesen, Denmark; Countess of Aberdeen, Scotland; Baroness Thorborg Rappe, Hulda Lundin, Sigrid Storckenfeldt, Sweden; Tauthe Vignier, Emilie Kempin, Switzerland; Margaret Windeyer, Australia; Meri Toppelius, Ebba Nordqvist, Finland; Callirrhoe Parren, Greece; Señorita Catalina de Alcala, Spain; Josefa Humpal Zeman, Sleona Karla Machova, Bohemia; Marie Marshall, Paris; Martha Sesselberg, Brazil.

TUESDAY, MAY 16, 1893. HALL OF WASHINGTON. GENERAL CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Honorary foreign president, ——; honorary American president, Charlotte Emerson Brown. Introduction of foreign representatives by Mrs. Potter Palmer and Mrs. Charles Henrotin, with responses on behalf of their respective countries, continued. "The Civil and Social Evolution of Woman," Elizabeth Cady Stanton, New York. Discussion: Margaret Parker, Scotland; M. Louise Thomas, representative of the Woman's Centenary Association; Dr. Emily Howard Stowe, president of the Woman's Enfranchisement Association of Canada; Dr. Jennie de la M. Lozier, president of Sorosis. "The Evolution of the Russian Woman," Marie Stromberg, Russia.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.—Honorary American president, Mrs. J. N. Crouse. "The Moral Initiative as Related to Woman," Julia Ward Howe, Massachusetts. Discussion. Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell, New Jersey; Mrs. John F Unger, representative of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Reformed Church in the United States; Elizabeth McGregor Burt,* president of the National Association of the Loyal Women of American Liberty; Josephine C. Locke, Illinois. "The Ethical Influence of Woman in Education," Kate Tupper Galpin, California. Discussion: Mrs. W. D. Cabell, representative of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution; Anna Byford Leonard, Illinois; Frances Stewart Mosher representative of the National Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society

*Mrs. Burt died a few days before the congress opened.

TUESDAY, MAY 16, 1893. HALL OF COLUMBUS. GENERAL CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.— Honorary foreign president, ——; honorary American president, Laura S. Wilkinson. "Woman in Municipal Government," paper by Mrs. Jacob Bright, read by Jane Cobden Unwin, representative of the Woman's Franchise League of England. Discussion: Ida A. Harper, Indiana; Margaret Ray Wickins, president of the Woman's National Relief Corps. "Woman as an Actual Force in Politics," Countess of Aberdeen, representative of the Woman's Liberal Federation of England. Discussion: Lillie Devereux Blake, New York. "The Position and Influence of Woman in Civil Law," Martha Strickland, Michigan.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.— "Woman in Science," Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi, New York. Discussion: Dr. Julia Holmes Smith, Illinois; Prof. Rachel Lloyd, University of Nebraska; Dr. Mary A. D. Jones; Louise Reed Stowell, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Leander Stone. "Woman as a Physician" (paper), Dr. Garrett Anderson; read by Constance Elder, England. "Woman the New Factor in Industrial Economics," Augusta Cooper Bristol, New Jersey. Discussion: Lina Morgenstern (by a paper), Germany; Virginia C. Meredith, Indiana; Ellen J. Phinney, president Non-Partisan N. W. C. T. U.; Agnes Burchard, representative of Frauenbildung-Reform Verein, of Germany; Augusta Foerster, Elisabet Kaselowsky, representatives of the Comite für die Deutsche Frauenabtheilung bei der Weltausstellung; Juana A. Neal, California.

TUESDAY, MAY 16, 1893. HALL VI. REPORT CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.— Presiding officer, Julia Ward Howe. L'Union des Femmes, Tauthe Vignier, Switzerland. Verein Jugendschutz, Hanna Bieber-Boehm, Germany. Women's Progressive Society, Mrs. Warner Snoad, president; read by Clara Bewick Colby, Nebraska. La Solidarité des Femmes; read by Clara Bewick Colby, Nebraska. Association for the Advancement of Women, Julia Ward Howe, Massachusetts. Sigrid E. Magnüsson, Iceland. Anti-Vivisection Society, Mrs. Fairchild Allen, Illinois.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.— Presiding officer, Mary McDonell. Woman's Anti-Opium Urgency Committee, Laura Ormiston Chant, England. Sociologic Society of America, Imogene C. Fales, New York. Dominion Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Mary McDonell, Canada. Moral Reform Union, Marie Fischer-Lette, England. British Section of the World's Christian Temperance Union, Laura Ormiston Chant, England.

TUESDAY, MAY 16, 1893. HALL XXIX. REPORT CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.— Presiding officer, Mary Frost Ormsby. International Board of Women's Christian Associations, Mrs. William O. Gould, California. Women's Franchise League, Jane Cobden Unwin, England. Women's Auxiliary Keeley Leagues, Mrs. J. A. Stafford-Wood, Illinois. Writer's Club (England), report sent by Mrs. Henrietta E. V. Stannard (John Strange Winter). National Democratic Influence Clubs,

Mary Frost Ormsby, New York. Women's Trades Union League (of England), report sent by Florence Routledge.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.— Pacific Coast Woman's Press Association, Mrs. Lindon W. Bates, Illinois. New England Women's Press Association, Belle Grant Armstrong, Massachusetts. Working Women's Society, Harriette A. Keyser, New York. De Samlede Kvindeforeningen, Nico Beck Meyer, Denmark. Kvindelig Fremskridtsforeningen, Frederikke Olesen, Denmark.

TUESDAY, MAY 16, 1893. HALL III. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.— Welcome by the president, May Wright Sewall. "Reminiscences of Early Dress Reform," Lucy Stone. Sketch of the work of the Society for the Promotion of Physical Culture and Correct Dress, Frances M. Steele. Report of the work of the committee, Frances E. Russell, chairman National Council's Committee on Dress. "Line and Color in Costume—How Beauty Makes Reform Possible," Henrietta Russell. "Fashion versus Law in Dress," Helen Gilbert Ecob. "The Influence of Dress upon Development," Frank Stuart Parker. "The Essentials and Non-Essentials of Dress," Annie Jenness Miller. "Obstacles to Improved Dress," Octavia W. Bates. "Physical Culture — a Necessary Preparation for Correct Dressing," Frances W. Leiter.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.— Addresses of the presidents of the members of the Council. National-American Woman Suffrage Association, Susan B. Anthony. Woman's Centenary Association of the Universalist Church, Cordelia A. Quinby. National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Matilda B. Carse (representing Frances E. Willard). National Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society, Laura A. De Merritte (representing Mary A. Davis). Illinois Industrial Reform School for Girls (National Charter), Mrs. M. R. M. Wallace. National Woman's Relief Society, Mrs. Zina D. H. Young. Wimodaughsis, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw. Sorosis, Dr. Jennie de la M. Lozier. Young Ladies' National Mutual Improvement Association, Elmina S. Taylor. National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity, Elizabeth B. Grannis. Universal Peace Union, Rev. Amanda Deyo. International Kindergarten Union, Sarah B. Cooper. Woman's Republican Association of the United States, J. Ellen Foster. National Association of Loyal Women of American Liberty, E. McGregor Burt. Closing address by the president, "The Idea of the National Council," May Wright Sewall.

TUESDAY, MAY 16, 1893. HALL VII. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE ORDER OF THE EASTERN STAR.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.— Mrs. Lorraine J. Pitkin will call the meeting to order, and introduce Mrs. Mary C. Snedden, Most Worthy Grand Matron. Prayer. Singing. Greeting. "The Dawn," Mrs. Elizabeth But-

ler, Chicago, Most Worthy Grand Matron, 1878 to 1880. "Illinois and the Eastern Star," Mrs. Jane M. Ricketts, Illinois, Grand Matron, 1892 to 1893. Reading, Miss Bessie Waterbury, Chicago. William G. Bartels, Grand Patron of Illinois, 1892 to 1893. Miscellaneous greetings. Vocal selection, Mrs. Brinkerhoff, Chicago. "The Eastern Star and Its Ceremonials, as Based upon Bible History," Rev. H. A. Guild, Past Grand Patron of Nebraska. "Masonic Homes," Mrs. Jennie A. Walker, Illinois, Grand Matron, 1885 to 1887.

AFTERNOON SESSION, RECEPTION 2 O'CLOCK.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.— Miscellaneous greetings. Quartette. "Order of the Eastern Star—Its Origin, Progress, and Development," Mrs. Mary C. Snedden, Missouri, Most Worthy Grand Matron. Violin duet. "Eastern Star Literature," Mrs. Nettie Ransford, Indianapolis, Ind., Most Worthy Grand Matron, 1889 to 1892. Miscellaneous. Selection, vocal, Lorraine J. Decker, Chicago. "The Value of the Eastern Star as a Factor in Giving Women a Knowledge of Legislative Matters," Mrs. Mary A. Flint, California, Most Worthy Grand Matron, 1886 to 1889. Reading. "Relation of the Eastern Star to Masonry, and Its Importance," A. B. Ashley, Illinois, Grand Patron, 1886 to 1889. "Masonry and Its Eastern Star," Mrs. Theresa Jacobs, Pennsylvania. "Iowa and the Eastern Star," Mrs. Jennie E. Matthews, Iowa, Most Worthy Grand Matron, 1883 to 1886. "Eastern Star and the Benefit it Has Been to Women as an Educational Organization," Mrs. Harriet A. Ercenbrack, Iowa, Right Worthy Grand Treasurer, 1889 to 1895. "Indiana and the Eastern Star," Mrs. E. M. Hollinger, Indiana, Grand Matron, 1892 to 1895.

TUESDAY, MAY 16, 1893. HALL VIII. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Mrs. J. V. Farwell, Jr., chairman International Committee Young Women's Christian Associations, presiding. Hymn. Devotional exercises. "The Association Working with the Church." "The Strength of the Young Women's Christian Association," Miss Nettie Dunn, Michigan. Music. "The Highest Education," Mrs. Charles Kendall Adams, Wisconsin.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.— Mrs. J. V. Farwell, Jr., chairman International Committee Young Women's Christian Associations, presiding. Hymn. Scripture. Prayer. "The Young Women's Christian Association — Its Methods and Aims," Mrs. William Boyd, Missouri. Music. "The Responsibility of the College Woman to Christian Work," Mrs. Jane Bancroft Robinson, Michigan. "What the Association Does for Young Women," Mrs. John Harvie, Canada.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1893. HALL OF WASHINGTON. GENERAL CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.— Honorary foreign president, Catalina de Alcala, Spain; honorary American president, Isabella Charles Davis.

"The Solidarity of Human Interests," Isabelle Bogelot, France; Callirrhoe Parren, Greece; Tauthe Vignier, Switzerland. "Woman in Spain for the Last Four Hundred Years." Catalina de Alcala, Spain. "Woman's Position in the South American States," Mme. Quesada, Peru; Baroness Wilson, Spain. "The Evolution of the Russian Woman," Marie Stromberg, Russia.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.— Honorary foreign president, Ernesta Urban, France; honorary American president, May Wright Sewall. "Woman's Place in the Legitimate Drama," Mme. Janauschek. "The Endowed Theater," Helena Modjeska. "The Stage and Its Women," Georgia Cayvan. "Woman in the Emotional Drama," Clara Morris. "The Stage and Its Women," Mlle. Rhea, Julia Marlowe.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1893. HALL OF COLUMBUS. GENERAL CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK. — Honorary foreign president, Kirstine Frederiksen, Denmark; honorary American president, Mary C. Snedden. "The Progress of Women in England" (paper), Helen Blackburn. "Our Debt to Zurich," Dr. Emilie Kempin, Switzerland. Discussion: Prof. Helen Webster. "The Position of Women in Bohemia," Sleona Karla Machova, Bohemia. "The Struggle of Woman in Belgium to Enter Public Employments and the Professions" (paper), Dr. Marie Popelin, Belgium. "A Century of Progress for Women in Canada," Mary McDonell, A. M. Blakely, representatives of the Dominion W. C. T. U.; Dr. Augusta Stowe Gullen, representative of the Woman's Enfranchisement Association of Canada; Mrs. John Harvie, representative of the Young Women's Christian Associations of Canada; Nellie Spence, B. A., Canada; Emily Cummings, Canada; Alice Fenton Freeman (Faith Fenton), Canada.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK. — Honorary foreign president, Josefa Humpal Zeman, Bohemia; honorary American president, Mrs. W. D. Cabell. "The Effect of Modern Changes in Industrial and Social Life on Woman's Marriage Prospects," Kaethe Schirmacher, Germany. Discussion: Mary F. Eastman, Massachusetts; Alice Timmons Toomy, California; Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Pennsylvania; Emily Marshall Wadsworth. "The Moral Responsibility of Woman in Heredity," Helen H. Gardener, New York.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1893. HALL VI. REPORT CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK. — Presiding officer, Lillie Devereux Blake. The Dublin Woman Suffrage Committee. Womanhood Suffrage League of New South Wales, Margaret Windeyer, Australia. The Society for Promoting the Return of Women to all Local Governing Bodies, Countess of Aberdeen, Scotland. Gift Qvinnas Eganderoett, Baroness Thorborg Rappe, Sweden. The Women's Liberal Federation, Jane Cobden Unwin, England. The Women's Liberal Federation of Scotland, Countess of Aberdeen, Scotland.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK. — Central National Society for Women's Suffrage, Laura Ormiston Chant, England. Women's Enfranchisement Association of Canada, Sarah A. Curzon, Canada. Kvindestemmeretsforeningen of Norway (report to be read). Women's Republican Association of the United States, J. Ellen Foster, Washington, D. C.; Adelle Hazlett, Michigan.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1893. HALL XXIX. REPORT CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Presiding officer, Ida M. Weaver. Œuvre des Libérées de St. Lazare, Isabelle Bogelot, France. Supreme Temple of Pythian Sisters of the World, Ida M. Weaver, Iowa. Patronage Laique des Jeunes Filles Apprenties et Ouvrières du VI. Arrondissement, Isabelle Bogelot, France. Alice-Frauenverein für die Krankenpflege, Œuvre des Jeunes Apprenties-Servantes (Le Foyer Chrétien), Marie Marshall, France. Royal British Nurses' Association, Mrs. Bedford Fenwick, Josephine De Pledge.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK. — Presiding officer, Mrs. John Harvie. London Young Women's Christian Association, Hon. Mrs. Waller, England. Young Women's Christian Association of Canada, Mrs. John Harvie, Canada. Young Women's Christian Association of Sweden, Sigrid Storckenfeldt, Sweden. Canadian Branch of the International Order of King's Daughters and Sons, Elizabeth M. Tilley, Canada. Onward and Upward Association, Invalid Children's Aid Association, Countess of Aberdeen, Scotland.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1893. HALL III. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN LEAGUE FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL PURITY.

SESSIONS AT 10 A. M. AND 7.45 P. M.—Delegates from the Christian League to the Women's Congress: Mrs. E. B. Grannis, president; Mrs. M. Louise Thomas, corresponding secretary; Dr. Nancy M. Miller, treasurer; Mrs. Arthur Smith, Mrs. C. M. Sawyer, Dr. J. M. Lozier.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Elizabeth B. Grannis, "Object and Aims of the Society." Mrs. M. Louise Thomas, "Social Purity." Dr. Jennie de la M. Lozier, "Educational Training." Rev. Conrad Haney. Mrs. Caroline B. Buell. Mrs. Arthur Smith, "High Living—One Cause of Impurity." Helen H. Gardener, "Heredity."

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK. — Rev. John P. Hale. Mrs. Virginia T. Smith, "Child Culture." Genevieve Stebbins (paper), "The Sacredness of the Marriage Relation."

WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1893. HALL IV. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Reading of Scripture. Prayer. Music. Address, Mary T. Lathrap, Michigan. Address, Mary McDowell, Illinois.

Music. Address, Josephine R. Nichols, Indiana. Woman's Lecture Bureau, Lucy E. Anthony, manager. Prayer.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.—Music, "America." Reading of Scripture. Prayer. Music. Address, Mary H. Hunt, Massachusetts. Address, Ida Clothier, Colorado. Music. Address, Frances W. Leiter, Ohio. Address, Clara C. Hoffman, Missouri. Music. Benediction.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1893. HALL VII. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL KINDERGARTEN UNION.

OFFICERS.—President, Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper, San Francisco; first vice-president, Miss Sarah A. Stewart, Philadelphia; second vice-president, Miss Laliah B. Pingree, Boston; treasurer, Miss Eva B. Whitmore, Chicago; recording secretary, Miss Mary C. McCulloch, St. Louis; corresponding secretary, Miss Caroline T. Haven, New York.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—President's address, Mrs. Sarah B. Cooper, San Francisco; subject, "Obstacles to Kindergarten Progress in Large Cities." Discussion (limited to five minutes): Miss Laliah B. Pingree, Boston; Miss Caroline T. Haven, New York; Miss Mary C. McCulloch, St. Louis; Mrs. Mary B. Page, Chicago; Mrs. Eliza A. Blaker, Indianapolis. Subject, "The International Kindergarten Union," Miss Sarah A. Stewart. Discussion: Mrs. Emily L. Ward, England; Mrs. Ada Mareau Hughes, Canada; Miss Annette H. Schepel, Germany; Miss Elise Von Calear, Holland; Miss Annie Laws, Ohio. Subject, "The Dangers of Public Exhibits of Young Children," Mrs. Alice H. Putnam. Discussion: Mrs. Eudora L. Hailman, Miss Emma Marwedel, Miss Eleanor Heerwart.

AFTERNOON SESSION, 2 O'CLOCK.—Round-table conferences. Social reunion. A committee will be in attendance to introduce members and visitors. Reports will be presented at each session, so far as time will permit.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK. — Subject, "Kindergarten Literature," Mrs. Louis H. Allen, Mrs. Lucretia W. Treat, Miss Virginia E. Graeff, Miss Angeline Brooks, Miss Laura Fisher, Miss Harriet Henderson. Subject, "The Kindergarten an Organic Part of the Public-School System." General discussion. Subject, "The Shoemaker's Barefooted Children," Miss Emily Poulsson. Reading, Mrs. Kate Douglas Wiggin.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1893. HALL VIII. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

EVENING SESSION, 8 O'CLOCK. — Presiding officer, Mrs. Amelia S. Quinton. Singing by Indian school of Albuquerque, N. M. Opening services by Rev. Dr. C. R. Henderson, University of Chicago; Rev. Dr. Noble. Singing by the Indians. Opening remarks, Hon. C. C. Bonney. Singing. "A Sketch of the Legislative Work of the Association," Mrs. William L. Burke, secretary Brooklyn Auxiliary. A sketch, "The Home-Building

Work of Seven Years," Mrs. Sara T. Kinney, vice-president of the association. Paper, "An Educational Field Illustration," Miss Mary E. Dewey. Address, "The Association's Missionary Work," Mrs. Amelia S. Quinton, president of the association. Music. Address, "The Indian Yesterday and To-day," Miss Alice C. Fletcher, Fellow of Harvard University. Address, "The Indian's Outlook," Gen. Thomas J. Morgan, late U. S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Address, "From the Indian Standpoint," Capt. Chauncey Yellow Robe, a Sioux. Singing by the Indians. Benediction.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1893. HALL XXXIII. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LOYAL WOMEN OF AMERICAN LIBERTY.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK. — Scripture reading. Prayer. Opening address, Elizabeth McGregor Burt, national president, Waltham, Mass. Address, Rev. I. W. Martin, Troy, N. Y. Address, Abbie A. C. Peaslee, Auburn, Maine, member Board of Managers of L. W. A. L.; subject, "The Relation of Woman to our Present Political Problem." Address, J. D. Fulton, D. D., Chicago, Ill.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.— Scripture reading. Prayer. Address, Rev. Dr. Gray, rector of Reformed Episcopal Church, Boston, Mass. Address, Mrs. E. C. Martin, president of the Troy Branch. Address, Rev. James King, D. D., New York City; subject, "A Movement for the Protection of American Institutions."

THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1893. HALL OF WASHINGTON. GENERAL CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK. — Honorary foreign president, Isabelle Bogelot; honorary American president, Ellen J. Phinney. "Woman as a Religious Teacher," Ursula N. Gestefeld, New York. Discussion: Cordelia A. Quinby, president of the Woman's Centenary Association; Alice May Scudder, representative of the United Society of Christian Endeavor; Sarah B. Cooper, president of the International Kindergarten Union; Miss Lois A. White, representative of the Christian Woman's Board of Missions; Zina D. H. Young, president of the National Woman's Relief Society; Mrs. J. Macallum; Elizabeth B. Grannis, president of the National Christian League for the Promotion of Social Purity; Fanny M. Harley, Illinois; May L. Gibbs, representative of the Dominion Branch of the International Order of King's Daughters and Sons; Hattie A. Robinson, Supreme Chief of Pythian Sisters. "The Modern Deaconess Movement," Jane Bancroft Robinson, Michigan.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.— "Woman in the Pulpit," Rev. Florence E. Kollock, California. Discussion: Rev. Eugenia St. John, Kansas; Rev. Caroline J. Bartlett, Michigan; Rev. Augusta J. Chapin, Illinois; Rev. Mary L. Moreland, Illinois. "The Intellectual Progress of the Colored Women of the United States Since the Emancipation Proclamation," Fannie

Barrier Williams. Discussion: Mrs. A. J. Cooper, Fannie Jackson Coppin, Florence Lewis.

THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1893. HALL OF COLUMBUS. GENERAL CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Honorary American president, Sarah A. Stewart. "Woman's Place in Hebrew Thought," Minnie D. Louis. Discussion: Emily Marshall Wadsworth, Mrs. John F. Unger, representative of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Reformed Church of the United States. "The Light in the East," Eliva Anne Thayer. Discussion: Ella Dietz Clymer, New York.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.— Honorary American president, Clara C. Hoffman. "Woman as a Minister of Religion," Rev. Mary A. Safford, Iowa. Discussion: Rev. Mary L. Moreland, Amelia S. Quinton, president of the Woman's National Indian Association. "Laws Affecting the Interests of Wives and Mothers," Florence Fenwick Miller, England.

THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1893. HALL VI. REPORT CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK. — Presiding officer, Harriet Taylor Upton. "Pestalozzi-Froebel House," Annette Hamminck Schepel, Germany. Swedish Ladies' Committee, Hulda Lundin, Sweden. "Wimodaughsis," Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, Pennsylvania. "American Library Association," Annie Godfrey Dewey, New York; Marie Stromberg, Russia. "Lette Verein," Elisabet Kaselowsky, Germany. New Somerville Club (London), Florence Fenwick Miller, England. General German Association of Women, Society for Education of the Working Classes, Federation of German Associations of Lady Teachers, Augusta Foerster, Germany.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.— Presiding officer, Meri Toppelius. "Ladies' Physiological Institute," Sarah A. Bryant, Massachusetts. "Woman's First Dental Association of the United States," Dr. Mary H. Stilwell, Pennsylvania. "Dansk Kvindesamfund," Laura Kieler, Denmark. "Finsk Qvinnoforening," Meri Toppelius, Finland. "Qvinnoforeninges Unionen i Finland," Ebba Nordqvist, Finland. "Frederika-Bremer-Forbundet," Baroness Thorborg Rappe, Sweden. Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Mrs E. S. Strachan, Canada.

THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1893. HALL III. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL-AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.— Opening address by the president, Susan B. Anthony. "Woman as an Annex," Helen H. Gardener. "The Progress of Woman," Lucy Stone. "The Evolution of Woman Suffrage," Carrie Lane Chapman.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.— Opening address, Elizabeth Cady Stanton. "Woman and the Municipality," Laura M. Johns. "Wyoming," Clara Bewick Colby. "Wives and Mothers — their Civil Duties," Florence Fenwick Miller of England.

MRS. WM. THAYER BROWN. DR. SARAH HACKETT STEVENSON.
ELIZABETH BOYNTON HARBERT.
DR. JULIA HOLMES SMITH. MRS. JOHN C. COONLEY.
Members of Committee on Organization World's Congress
of Representative Women.

THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1893. HALL IV. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE WOMEN'S BAPTIST HOME MISSION SOCIETY.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.— Opening service, conducted by Mrs. J. N. Crouse, president. Music. 10.30. — Topic, "The Women's Baptist Home Mission Society": *a*, "Its Inception," Mrs. J. S. Dickerson, first chairman of the Executive Board; *b*, "Its Development," Mrs. W. M. Lawrence, present chairman of the Executive Board; *c*, "Its Pioneer Missionary," Sister Joanna P. Moore; *d*, "Its Finances," Mrs. R. R. Donnelley, first treasurer, Mrs. A. H. Barber, present treasurer. Music. "Its Training School," Mrs. C. D. Morris, preceptress. "Representative Students," Miss M. Virginia Ashton, seniors; Miss Frances J. Ketman, juniors. "A Graduate," Miss Ella F. Brainard, class of '81. 12.— Music. "Christ on the Avenues," Mrs. William E. Isaacs, president of the New York City Branch. "The Church in the Slums," Mrs. C. Swift, first corresponding secretary W. B. H. M. S. 12.30.—Adjournment.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.— Devotional service, conducted by the president. 8.15.—"Our Home Heathen," Miss Mary G. Burdette, corresponding secretary. 8.45.—"God's Call to Women — the Plea and the Promise," Mrs. M. A. Ehlers, principal of Missionary Training Department, Shaw University, Raleigh, N. C. Mrs. S. A. Northrup of Fort Wayne, Ind., will conduct the singing. There will be on exhibition a unique piece of work executed by pupils in Miss Lydia Lawrence's Industrial School for Colored Girls, in Tampa, Fla., and perhaps some other specimens of work done in similar schools at other stations.

THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1893. HALL VII. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Federation Council, only members of federated clubs invited. Brief reports from Board of Directors. Discussion of, *a*, "State Federation"; *b*, "The Philadelphia Biennial"; *c*, "The Federation Organ."

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.—Symposium, "Results of Club Life Among Women": *a*, "Upon the Home," Mrs. J. T. Larned, St. Louis, Mo.; *b*, "Upon Society," Maud Howe Elliott, Boston, Mass.; *c*, "In Public Life," Mary A. Livermore, Melrose, Mass.; *d*, "As a Means of Intellectual Growth," Celia Parker Woolley, Chicago; *e*, "Dangerous Tendencies in Club Life," Kate Tupper Galpin, Los Angeles, Cal.; *f*, "In Relation to the Sense of Individual Responsibility," Mary F. Lewis Gannett, Rochester, N. Y. Mrs. Frances Lester of Grand Rapids, Mich., and Miss Ada Sweet of Chicago.

THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1893. HALL VIII. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE AMERICAN PROTECTIVE SOCIETY OF AUTHORS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Invocation, Clara Barton. Address, Mrs. M. D. Lincoln (Bessie Beech), Washington, D. C. "Commercial Value of

Literary Work — a Statement of Facts," Mrs. Sara J. Lippincott (Grace Greenwood). Paper, "Reasons Why Authors Should be Protected," Mrs. Katharine Hodges, Brooklyn, N. Y. Paper, "Values of Interest in Literature," Mrs. C. M. Spofford, Tennessee. Paper, "How Shall Authors Secure Protection?" Mrs. Lelia P. Roby, Chicago.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK. — Paper, "Between Two Fires — Publisher and Plagiarist," Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth. Address, "Inadequate Protection of the International Copyright Law," Emily Thornton Charles (Emily Hawthorn). Paper, Mrs. James B. Tanner, Washington, D. C. Paper, "Insurance Against Piracy of Brains," Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood. Paper, "Imperfections in Copyright Law," Mrs. Virginia S. Patterson, Kokomo, Ind. "Experiences in Publishing," Mrs. Henry Ward Beecher. "The Inalienable Rights of Authors," Mrs. Lucy Page Stelle, St. Louis, Mo., and others.

THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1893. HALL XXIV. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE WOMAN'S CENTENARY ASSOCIATION.

MORNING SESSION, 11 O'CLOCK.— 1. Opening address by the president, Mrs. C. A. Quinby. 2. Reading of the Scriptures, Rev. A. J. Chapin. 3. Prayer, Rev. Ada C. Bowles. 4. Hymn, Rev. Florence E. Kollock. "Come, Thou Almighty King." 5. Address, Mrs. M. Louise Thomas, past president; topic, "A History of the Woman's Centenary Association." 6. Address, Mrs. J. L. Patterson, president W. U. M. Society of Massachusetts; topic, "Our Missions in Massachusetts." 7. Hymn, "Hail to the Lord's Anointed." 8. Address, Rev. Florence E. Kollock; topic, "How All Our Women Can Help." 9. Address, Mrs. M. R. M. Wallace, president Illinois U. W. A.; topic, "Illinois Universalist Woman's Association." 10. Address, Rev. Lorenza Haynes; topic, "The Relation of the Young Women to this Work." 11. Address, Rev. Henrietta G. Moore; topic, "Woman's Mission as Minister and Missionary in the Church." Benediction, Rev. Florence E. Kollock.

EVENING SESSION, 8 O'CLOCK.— Mrs. C. A. Quinby, presiding. Singing, "All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name." 1. Address, Rev. Augusta J. Chapin, chairman of Woman's General Committee on Religious Congresses; topic, "What These Things Mean." 2. Address, Rev. Abbie E. Danforth, president W. M. Alliance of Ohio; topic, "Home Missions." 3. Address, Mrs. M. A. Adams, first vice-president of W. C. A.; topic, "What Missions Have Done for Women and What Women Have Done for Missions." 4. Address, Mrs. H. B. Manford, vice-president of W. C. A. for California; topic, "The Need of Missions in California." 5. Hymn, "From Greenland's Icy Mountains." 6. Address, Mrs. Mary A. Livermore; topic, "What Missions Have Done for the World." 7. Address, Mrs. M. R. Libbey; topic, "The Field is the World." 8. Address, Rev. Phebe A. Hanaford; topic, "A Woman's Reason Why." 9. Address, Rev. Ada C. Bowles; topic, "In Union there is Strength." 10. Address, Rev. Olympia

Brown Willis; topic, "The Mothers of the Church." 11. Address, Rev. Myra Kingbury; topic, "What is the Message Universalism has for Missions?" Benediction, Mary A. Livermore.

THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1893. HALL XXVI. CATHOLIC WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.— Presiding officer, Alice Timmons Toomy. Introductory Address, Alice Timmons Toomy. "Elevation of Womanhood Through the Veneration of the Blessed Virgin," Emma Cary. "Women to Whom Churches were Dedicated," Ellen A. Ford. Harp solo, Miss Sullivan. Poem, Eleanor C. Donnelly. "The Intellectual Woman of the Early Church," Frances Costigan. Vocal solo, Miss Reilly. "Catholic Woman the Inspirer of Noble Deeds," Lily Alice Toomy.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.—Harp and piano, Misses Cudahy and Dennison. "The Catholic Woman in Philanthropy," Mary Josephine Onahan. "The Catholic Woman in Temperance," Sarah Moore. Poem, Margaret M. Halvey. Vocal solo, Miss Wilson. "The Catholic Woman as Educator," M. A. B. Maher. "Two Types of Progressive Catholic Women," Janet E. Richards.

THURSDAY, MAY, 18, 1893. HALL XXXIII. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE WOMAN'S NATIONAL RELIEF CORPS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.— Music. Address of Welcome, Miss Emma R. Wallace, Department President of Illinois. Response, Mrs. M. R. Wickins, National President Woman's Relief Corps. Solo, Mrs. Belle C. Harris, Past Department President, Emporia, Kan. "What Women Have Done," Mrs. Flo Miller, National Inspector, Monticello, Ill. Address, Mrs. Sara L. Rothrock, Past Department President of Iowa. "The Women of the War," Mrs. Ida W. Moore, National Instituting and Installing Officer, Abilene, Kan. Remarks, Mrs. John A. Logan, Washington, D. C.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.— Address, Commander-in-Chief A. G. Weissert. Paper, Mrs. Emma B. Lowd, Past Department President of Massachusetts. Solo, Mrs. Robb, Emporia, Kan. Recitation, "We Keep Memorial Day," Elizabeth Mansfield Irving, Toledo, Ohio. Remarks, Mrs. Lucy Jones, Past Department President, Norton, Kan. Music, Major T. J. Anderson, Topeka, Kan. Remarks, Adjutant-General Grey, G. A. R. Remarks, Mrs. Kate B. Sherwood, Past National President, Canton, Ohio. Recitation, Mrs. Maude Gerow, Atchison, Kan.

FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1893. HALL OF WASHINGTON. GENERAL CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.— Honorary American president, M. Louise Thomas. "Woman's Contribution to the Applied Arts," Florence Elizabeth

Corey, New York. Discussion: Emily Sartain, Philadelphia. "The Trades and Professions Underlying the Home," Mrs. Ernest Hart, England; Helena T. Goessmann, Massachusetts; Laura S. Wilkinson, president of the National Columbian Household Economic Association; Mary H. Hull, Illinois. "Pottery in the Household" (paper), M. Louise McLaughlin, Ohio. "Art in Ceramics," Luetta E. Braumuller, New York. "The Influence of Women in Ceramic Art," Miss M. B. Alling, Rochester.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.— Honorary American president, Fannie Barrier Williams. "The Kindergarten System and the Public Schools," Sarah B. Cooper, California. Discussion: Rev. Mila Frances Tupper, Michigan; Caroline M. Severance, California. "The Popular Inculcation of Economy," Sara Louise Vickers Oberholtzer, Pennsylvania. "The Organized Efforts of Colored Women in the South to Improve their Condition," Sarah J. Early, Tennessee. Discussion, Hallie Q. Brown, Alabama.

FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1893. HALL OF COLUMBUS. GENERAL CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.- Honorary American president, Minnie D. Louis. "Woman's Work in Greece," Callirrhoe Parren. "Woman's War for Peace," Nico Beck Meyer, Denmark; Rev. Amanda Deyo, Pennsylvania. Discussion, Lizzie Kirkpatrick, Canada. "Woman as an Explorer," Mrs. M. French-Sheldon. "The Organized Work of Catholic Women," Lily Alice Toomy, California.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.— Honorary American president, Mary Lowe Dickinson. "Woman as a Social Leader," Josefa Humpal Zeman, Bohemia. "Organized Development of Polish Women," Helena Modjeska. "Woman as a Political Leader," J. Ellen Foster, Washington, D. C. Discussion: Eugenia B. St. John, Kansas; Mary Frost Ormsby, New York. "Woman's Participation in Municipal Government," Laura M. Johns, Kansas. Discussion: Sarah C. Hall, Kansas.

FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1893. HALL VI. REPORT CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Presiding officer, Alice May Scudder. Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Reformed Church of the United States, Mrs. John F. Unger, Pennsylvania. Union Maternal Association, Louise A. Chapman, Massachusetts. Christian Woman's Board of Missions, Mrs. O. A. Burgess, Indiana. Order of Melchisedek, E. A. Thayer, New York. Woman's Ministerial Conference, Julia Ward Howe, Massachusetts. United Society of Christian Endeavor, Alice May Scudder, New Jersey.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.—Presiding officer, Frances Stewart Mosher. Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the M. E. Church, Mrs. F. P. Crandon, Illinois. National Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society, Frances Stewart Mosher, Michigan. Woman's Missionary Society of the Evangelical Association, Mrs. E. Krecker, Pennsylvania. International Order of King's Daughters and Sons, Mary Lowe Dickinson, New York.

Needlework Guild of America, Mrs. John Wood Stewart, New Jersey. "National Association of Women Physicians," Dr. Mary Weeks Burnett.

FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1893. HALL III. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF UNITARIAN AND OTHER LIBERAL CHRISTIAN WOMEN, WOMEN'S WESTERN UNITARIAN CONFERENCE, AND WOMEN'S UNITARIAN CONFERENCE OF THE PACIFIC COAST.

COMMITTEE.—Mrs. Thomas F. Gane, Mrs. B. Ward Dix, Mrs. S. K. Lothrop, Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells, Rev. Ida C. Hultin, Mrs. Emily A. Fifield, Mrs. Marion H. Perkins, Mrs. Horace Davis.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Rev. Ida C. Hultin, presiding officer, president Women's Western Unitarian Conference. Address of welcome, Rev. Ida C. Hultin, Moline. Response, Mrs. B. Ward Dix, Brooklyn. Report of National Alliance of Unitarian and Other Liberal Christian Women, Mrs. Emily A. Fifield, Boston. Report of Women's Western Unitarian Conference, Mrs. Marion H. Perkins, Chicago. Report of Women's Unitarian Conference of the Pacific Coast, Mrs. Elizabeth B. Eastman, San Francisco; read by Mrs. Horace Davis. Essay, "Post Office Mission Work" Mrs. Jenkyn Lloyd Jones, Chicago. Address, Mrs. Kate Tupper Galpin.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.—Presiding officer, Mrs. B. Ward Dix, president of the National Alliance of Unitarian Women. "A Woman's Religion," Mrs. R. H. Davis, New York City. Address, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Boston. "Religion of the Twentieth Century," Mrs. John C. Learned, St. Louis. Addresses, Mrs. Celia Parker Woolley, Chicago; Rev. Mary A. Safford, Sioux City.

FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1893. HALL IV. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NON-PARTISAN NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—"Power of Womanliness in Wrestling with Stern Problems," Mrs. Florence C. Porter, Winthrop, Maine. Address, Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, Washington, D. C.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.—"Scientific Study for Temperance Work," Mrs. A. D. Davidson, Oberlin, Ohio, president National Woman's Science Club. "Woman as a Law-Giver," Mrs. Mary J. Aldrich, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1893. HALL VII. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S RELIEF SOCIETY.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Music, voluntary, Miss Kate Romney. Congregational hymn, "O My Father, Thou that Dwellest." Prayer, Mrs. Sarah M. Kimball. Opening address, Mrs. Zina D. H. Young. Relief Society, Mrs. Jane S. Richards. "Women in Medicine," Mrs. Ellis R. Shipp, M. D. "Pioneer Women of Utah, 1847-48," Mrs. M.

Isabella Horne. "The Children," Mrs. Zina Y. Card. Song, Mrs. Cornelia H. Clayton. "Amusements of the Early Days" (paper). Mrs. Nellie Little. "Western Women, Authors and Journalists" (Grain Saving by Women), Mrs. Emmeline B. Wells. "Types of Women," M. Hughes Cannon, M. D. Impromptu, Emily Shurtliffe. "Industrial Women," Electa Bullock. Doxology and benediction.

OFFICERS.—Zina D. H. Young, president; Jane S. Richards, first vice-president; Bathsheba W. Smith, second vice-president; Sarah M. Kimball, third vice-president; Emmeline B. Wells, secretary; Mary Isabella Horne, treasurer.

FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1893. HALL VII. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE YOUNG LADIES' NATIONAL MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.— Music, voluntary, Miss Kate Romney. Congregational hymn, "My Country, 'Tis of Thee." Invocation, Mrs. Ardella Eardley. Quartette (ladies' voices), Mrs. May Talmage, Miss Mary Romney, Mrs. Minnie J. Snow, Miss May Preston. Introductory remarks, President Elmina S. Taylor. Address, "Literature and Art," Mrs. May Talmage. Recitation, "The Ultimatum of Human Life," Miss Laura Hyde. Address, "Legal and Political Status of Utah Women," Mrs. Emily S. Richards. Address, "Motherhood," Mrs. Martha H. Tingey. Soprano solo, Miss Mary Romney. Y. L. M. I. A. report, Mrs. Maria Y. Dougall. Address, "Our Girls," Mrs. Minnie J. Snow. Address, "Education of Women," Miss Julia Farnsworth. Benediction. Voluntary, Miss Kate Romney.

OFFICERS.— Elmina S. Taylor, president; Maria Y. Dougall, first vice-president; Martha H. Tingey, second vice-president; Ann M. Cannon, secretary and treasurer; Mae Taylor, corresponding secretary.

FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1893. HALL VIII. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY OF THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.— Presiding officer, Mrs. Letitia Green Stevenson, president general. Prayer, the chaplain general. Address of welcome, Mrs. Shepard, Chicago. Response, Mrs. William D. Cabell, president general, presiding. Paper. The Continental Hall. Paper.

AFTERNOON SESSION, 2.30 O'CLOCK.— The University of the United States. The National Hymn. The Liberty Bell.

FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1893. HALL XXIV. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Session for the transaction of business. Election of officers.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.—Addresses on the "Value of the International Idea," by Kirstine Frederiksen, Denmark; Margaret V. Parker, Scotland; Isabelle Bogelot, France; Hanna Bieber-Boehm, Germany; Callirrhoe Parren, Greece; and May Wright Sewall, America.

FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1893. HALL XXVI. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF WOMEN'S TRADES UNIONS.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK. — "Women's Trades Unions in the American Federation of Labor," Mary E. Kenny, organizer American Federation of Labor. "Trades Unions — the Old Ideal and the New," Florence Kelley, Chicago, expert W. S. Department of Labor. "Women's Trades Unions — Their Limitations," Susan B. Anthony, New York. Discussion: Mrs. A. P. Stevens, Corinne S. Brown.

FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1893. HALL XXVI. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL COLUMBIAN HOUSEHOLD ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION.

COMMITTEE.—Mrs. Laura S. Wilkinson, Mrs. Sarah F. Gane, Mrs. Isadore P. Taylor, Mrs. Frances E. Owens, Mrs. Ellen M. Henrotin, Mrs. Lavinia Hargis, Mrs. Phœbe Butler, Mrs. Ella Hill, Mrs. Elizabeth B. Harbert, Mrs. Mary Hinman Abel, Mrs. Susan Look Avery, Mrs. L. M. Mendenhall, Mrs. Kate Watson, Mrs. Mary W. McKittrick, Miss Mary F. Eastman, Mrs. E. D. Jordan.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Address of welcome, Helen Ekin Starrett. Report of the work accomplished by the Columbian Association of Housekeepers, and plans for the work in the new organization, Laura S. Wilkinson. Discussion, Elizabeth Boynton Harbert. "Domestic Service and the Family Claim," Miss Jane Addams. Discussion, Mary Hinman Abel.

AFTERNOON SESSION, 2 O'CLOCK.—"Bread-making as an Art Practically Illustrated," Mrs. Emma P. Ewing. Discussion, Mary J. Lincoln. "Co-operative Housekeeping," Mrs. Mary Coleman Stuckart. Discussion of Mrs. Stuckart's plan.

FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1893. HALL XXXIII. DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGIATE ALUMNÆ.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.—Address of greeting. "The History, Aims, and Methods of the Association," Miss Marion Talbot. "Fellowships — Account of the Work of the Committee on Fellowships, with Letters from the Association Fellows," Mrs. Bessie Bradwell Helmer. "The Bureau of Occupations," Miss Eva M. Tappan. "On the Endowment of Colleges," report of the committee, Miss Alla W. Foster. "The Wage Question," partial report of the committee on the study of this subject, prepared by Miss Eleanor Lord. "On the Study of the Development of Children," report of the committee, prepared by Mrs. Annie Howes Barus and read by Mrs. Whitney Chapin. "On Education Progress," report of the committee, Mrs. Martha Foote Crow. Other addresses.

OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION.—President, Mrs. Annie Howes Barus, Vassar College. Vice-presidents: Mrs. Martha Foote Crow, Syracuse University; Mrs. Julia Latimer Munger, Boston University; Mrs. Helen

Hiscock Backus, Vassar College; Miss Anna R. Haire, Smith College; Mrs. Josephine Sarles Simpson, Wisconsin University; Miss Clara Brewster Potwin, Wellesley College. Secretary, Miss Marion Talbot, Boston University Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Treasurer, Mrs. Mary Roberts Smith, Cornell University.

SATURDAY, MAY 20, 1893. HALL OF WASHINGTON. GENERAL CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Honorary American president, Mrs. B. Ward Dix. "The Ethics of Dress," Alice Timmons Toomy, California. Discussion, Margaret Windeyer, representative Womanhood Suffrage League of New South Wales; Antoinette Brown Blackwell, New Jersey; Julia Ward Howe, president of the Women's Ministerial Conference and of the Association for the Advancement of Women; Laura Ormiston Chant, representative of the Central National Society for Woman's Suffrage, the British section of the World's W. C. T. U., and of the Woman's Anti-Opium Urgency Committee; Octavia Williams Bates, Michigan; Laura A. De Merritte, representative of the National Free Baptist Woman's Missionary Society; Elizabeth Krecker. "Woman's Place in the Republic of Letters," Annie Nathan Meyer, New York; Alice Wellington Rollins, New York. Discussion, Cécile Renooz, France; Louise E. Francis, California.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.—Honorary American president, Mrs. Wm. Thayer Brown. Organization Among Women as an Instrument in Promoting the Interests of (*a*) Industry, Harrietta A. Keyser; (*b*) Philanthropy, Mary E. Richmond; (*c*) Moral Reform, Kate Bond, New York; (*d*) Education, Alice Freeman Palmer, Massachusetts; (*e*) Religion, Mary Lowe Dickinson, New York; (*f*) Literary Culture, Charlotte Emerson Brown, New Jersey; (*g*) Political Liberty, Susan B. Anthony, Rochester, N. Y. "The Economy of Woman's Forces through Organization," Rachel Foster Avery, Pennsylvania.

SATURDAY, MAY 20, 1893. HALL OF COLUMBUS. GENERAL CONGRESS.

MORNING SESSION, 10 O'CLOCK.—Honorary American president, Emmeline B. Wells. "Woman's Dress from the Standpoint of Sociology," Prof. Ellen D. Hayes, Massachusetts. Discussion, Dr. Lelia A. Davis, Canada; Prof. Helen L. Webster, Massachusetts. "Dress Reform and Its Necessity" (paper), Viscountess Harberton, England. "Woman's Political Future" (paper), Marie Deraismes, France; Frances E. W. Harper, Pennsylvania. Discussion, Margaret Windeyer, Australia. "The Amazon Land," Martha Sesselberg.

EVENING SESSION, 7.45 O'CLOCK.—Honorary American president, Dr. Sarah Hackett Stevenson. Organization Among Women as an Instrument in Promoting the Interests of (*a*) Industry, Jane Addams, Illinois; Kate Bond, New York. (*b*) Philanthropy, Clara C. Hoffman, Missouri. (*c*) Moral Reform, Maud Ballington Booth. (*d*) Education. (*e*) Religion.

Rev. Ida C. Hultin, Illinois. (*f*) Literary Culture, Mrs. Lindon W. Bates, Illinois. (*g*) Political Liberty, Lillie Devereux Blake, New York. "The Economy of Woman's Forces through Organization," May Wright Sewall.

SUNDAY, MAY 21, 1893. HALL OF WASHINGTON.

MORNING SESSION, 10.45 O'CLOCK.— Religious services conducted entirely by women ordained as ministers, every denomination which has admitted women to the ministry being represented. Presiding minister, Rev. Caroline J. Bartlett. Voluntary, Clara Schumann. Organist, Miss Gertrude Smith. Invocation, Rev. Jeannette Olmstead. Hymn — "Rise Up! Rise Up! O Woman," written for the Congress by Rev. Ada C. Bowles, read by Rev. Emily Gordon.

*Tune — Missionary Hymn.*

Rise up! rise up! O Woman,
No longer sit at ease,
The banner of thy freedom
Is lifting to the breeze.
Be ready for the morning
That breaks thy long, dark night
Of Ignorance and Bondage,
And hail the coming light.

Rise up! the bridegroom cometh
In grace and majesty;
Go joyfully to meet him —
His name is Liberty.
His face is as the daybreak,
His heart is true and strong,
His hand is brave and mighty
Against the sceptred wrong.

The keys of thy reft kingdom
He bringeth as a gift;
O, Woman! wronged and fettered,
Thy face to greet him lift.
'Tis God, o'er all and in all,
'Tis Christ who bids thee rise.
Thy night is quickly passing,
Thy morning gilds the skies.

REV. ADA C. BOWLES.

Prayer, Rev. Florence E. Kollock. Scripture Lesson, Rev. Anna H. Shaw. Trio — "Blessed are the Pure in Heart," (Faustina Hasse Hodges), The Misses Root, St. John, and Hawley. Sermon, Rev. Anna Howard Shaw. Hymn, read by Rev. Mary L. Moreland.

*Music — Berlin.*

I can not find thee. Even when most adoring,
Before thy shrine I bend in lowliest prayer;
Beyond these bounds of thought, my thought upsoaring,
From furtherest quest comes back: thou art not there.

Yet high above the limits of my seeing,
And folded far within the inmost heart,
And deep below the deeps of conscious being,
Thy splendor shineth: there, O God! thou art.

I can not lose thee. Still in thee abiding,
The end is clear, how wide soe'er I roam;
The law that holds the worlds my steps is guiding,
And I must rest at last in thee, my home.

ELIZA SCUDDER.

Benediction, Rev. Mary Safford.

SUNDAY, MAY 21, 1893. HALL OF COLUMBUS.

EVENING SESSION, 8 O'CLOCK.— Organ — Polonaise Heroique (Julia Rive-King; arranged by Harrison M. Wild), Miss Esther S. Deal. Chorus— Magnificat (Mrs. J. T. Draper). Piano solos — Gavotte in E minor; The Ripple (Nellie Bangs Skelton), Mrs. Skelton. Songs—*a*, Lov'st Thou for Beauty? (Clara Schumann); *b*, What the Chimney Sang (Gertrude Griswold), Mrs. Katharine L. Fisk. Violin and piano — Sonata (Helen Hopekirk), Miss Currie Duke, Mrs. Fannie Bloomfield Zeisler. Double trios — *a*, Hail, Evening Bright (Marie Antoinette); *b*, Evening Prayer in Brittany (Mme. Chaminade). Intermission. Harps — Marche Triomphale (arranged by Mme. Josephine Chatterton), Harp Orchestra, led by Mme. Chatterton. Harp Orchestra*— Mme. Josephine Chatterton, director, Chicago; Mrs. McDermott; Mrs. George W. Clark, Syracuse, N. Y.; Miss Bertha Becker, Syracuse, N. Y.; Miss Cecile Le Gierse, New York City; Miss Marie Therese Dillon, Chenoa, Ill.; Miss Josephine Albert, Fort Wayne, Ind.; Miss Helen Rose Mackay, Duluth, Minn.; Miss Cecilia Cudahy, Chicago; Miss Emmeline Farrar, Chicago; Miss Charlotte Tarrant, Chicago; Miss Minnie Campbell, Chicago. Chorus.— Miss Helen W. Root, Miss Grace W. Root, Miss Esther St. John, Mrs. Kittie Wallace Davis, Mrs. Annie Rommeiss Thacker, Mrs. Pauline Rommeiss Bremner, Mrs. Mina Rommeiss Summy, Miss Jessie F. Root, Miss Jessie Hawley, Mr. Frank K. Root, Mr. Walter R. Root, Mr. George F. Root, 2d, Mr. Charles Crankshaw, Mr. W. A. Derrick, Doctor Williams, Mr. W. Stanley Peck, Mr. Harry C. Waters. Quartettes (selected), Mrs. Davis and the Rommeiss Sisters. Piano solos (selected), Mrs. Zeisler. Violin solo (selected), Miss Duke. Solo and chorus — Wedding Music (words by Kate Starr Kellogg; music by Eleanor Smith), Miss Helen Root and chorus.

WORDS FOR WEDDING MUSIC — KATE STARR KELLOGG.

PRELUDE.

Hark to the song that softly steals
From tender green of waking fields.
List to the bird-notes in the air,
And murmurs, murmurs everywhere.
What hides the vale in pearly mist?
What breathes in buds the spring hath kissed?
What trembles through the dreamy air
And showers its blessings everywhere?

CHORUS.

'Tis a tide that pours from glad realms above
To the earth below, and its song is love.
O joy, when its glad music rolls
Through human hearts, through mated souls.
O joy, when to its happy beat
And music swift of coming feet,
We welcome sing in joyous tone,
For Love, dear Love hath claimed his own.

* No large harp orchestra has before been assembled in America.

MARCH.

Herald her coming !
Hearts throb to meet her,
Flowers spring to bloom 'neath her feet.
Soft airs of springtime
Breathe soft upon her;
Comes she in mystery
Love's face to meet.
Herald his coming,
Hearts throb to meet him,
Strong in the strength of his love,
Arm to defend her,
Soul true and tender.
Crown them with blessings
Ye Powers from above.

Home of childhood, dreams of girlhood,
Maiden longings, all are done.
Through the portals widely swinging
Love hath entered, life begun !
Now the flow'ret softly sheltered
In the home-heart blooms apace,
To her lover perfume breathing,
Gives her sweetness, gives her grace.
Heart of mother, strength of brother,
Yield the maiden of your pride.
Joy hath found her,
Love hath crowned her,
Mark where she cometh in beauty, a bride.
Joy hath found her,
For Love hath crowned her,
And now she cometh a beauteous bride.
Hail! Hail! Hail! Hail!

Herald their coming,
Hearts throb to meet them,
Glad in their love and their youth,
Hearts one forever,
Life, love together,
Vows solemn pledge they in faith and in truth.
Herald their coming !
Peal forth sweet music !
Let the deep harmonies roll !
Hearts one forever,
Life, love together,
Naught, naught can sever
When soul blends with soul.
Bless them, ah ! bless them,
Ye Powers from above.
Peace soft enfolding,
Love's rapture holding.
Bend low, dear Father, love
And bless from above.

The programme, from Monday to Saturday inclusive, was issued in pamphlet form, and was supplemented by fifteen closely printed pages giving general information, specific information, diagrams of the halls, information concerning conferences, conference committees, and general reports, and a full list of the members of the Foreign and the Home Advisory Councils. This supplementary matter will be found in the appendix. The Sunday programmes were issued separately. The fine musical programme for the Sunday evening service was arranged by Mrs. John C. Coonley.

# CHAPTER III — EDUCATION.

INTRODUCTORY PARAGRAPHS BY THE EDITOR — COPIOUS EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES DELIVERED IN THE GENERAL CONGRESS BY MRS. SARAH B. COOPER, MRS. CAROLINE M. SEVERANCE, REV. MILA FRANCES TUPPER, MISS N. CROPSEY, MRS. KATE TUPPER GALPIN, MRS. W. D. CABELL, MRS. ANNA BYFORD LEONARD, MRS. FRANCES STEWART MOSHER, AND MRS. SARAH LOUISE VICKERS OBERHOLTZER — EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN LEAGUE FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL PURITY BY DR. JENNIE DE LA M. LOZIER — EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS BY MRS. C. K. ADAMS — EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE CATHOLIC WOMAN'S DEPARTMENT CONGRESS BY MARY A. B. MAHER.

IN the following chapter on the general subject of education is presented a discussion of particular phases of what are popularly known as "The New Education" and "The Higher Education" by women most of whom are specialists of widely recognized attainment and power in the particular field which their respective discussions cover. Other papers and discussions on the same general theme, from numerous and varied points of view, will be presented in subsequent chapters, which record the work of department, report, and conference congresses; but it has seemed best to include in this chapter extracts from some of the papers presented in department congresses, since thus only could be shown the scope of the utterances of the congress as a whole upon this most important subject. As already stated in the introduction, the limits of this work make it impossible to publish any paper or discussion in its entirety. Justice to the participants in the congress, as well as to the reader, demands that the manner and degree of the abbreviation of the papers be indicated.

The papers are abridged to from one-fourth to two-thirds of their original compass. The following notes indicate the character of the matter omitted from each of the papers in this chapter in all cases where the omission has altered the character and scope of the paper: From Mrs. Cooper's paper is omitted a portion of her plea for industrial training in our schools. The introduction to Mrs. Severance's discussion is omitted; this applied the myths of Medusa, Perseus, and Andromeda to the present age, and showed how they illustrate the doctrine that woman represents the soul or intuitional principle, and man the mind or intellectual principle. From Mrs. Cabell's address is omitted the introduction, which deprecated an undervaluation of woman's service in the past and a too sudden change in her position. From Mrs. Mosher's paper that portion has been omitted which discussed the beneficial influence of women teachers upon the spirit and discipline of the school. From Mrs. Oberholtzer's paper, the closing pages, which treat of the subject of economy in its more general bearings, have been omitted. From Doctor Lozier's paper have been dropped those pages which contained a consideration of social impurity as it is affected by the pecuniary independence of man and the pecuniary dependence of woman. Mrs. Adams' address contained illustrations drawn from the life of Mary Brigham, and from literature, not reproduced here. The introductory portion of Mrs. Maher's address was general in its scope; this, with her exhaustive enumeration and description of the Catholic benevolent orders, has been omitted.—[THE EDITOR.]

THE KINDERGARTEN AS AN EDUCATIONAL AGENCY AND THE RELATION OF THE KINDERGARTEN TO MANUAL TRAINING — ADDRESS DELIVERED BY MRS. SARAH B. COOPER OF SAN FRANCISCO, PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL KINDERGARTEN UNION.

"We learn through doing;" that is the foundation principle on which the kindergarten rests. The highest type of humanity which education can produce is reached by the equal and simultaneous growth of every faculty; hence the kindergarten provides for the nourishment of every faculty in its earliest stage, on the ground that all are essential to a perfect growth. The epochs of educational growth follow the divinely ordained epochs of vegetable growth; there is the root-life, the stem-life, and the blossom-life. That the blossom will depend very largely upon the care and nurture given to the root no one will deny. So, then, the germs of every faculty must have their appropriate nourishment at the earliest possible point of time, and there must be also simultaneous growth. True growth is the equal and constantly increasing development of every faculty. That is not genuine growth which is developed only on one side — that is only a bulging and misshapen condition. In order to proper growth there must be freedom, coupled with obedience to the innate laws of life and being, exactly as it is in the vegetable kingdom. The child must learn to use his mental powers, as he has learned to use his bodily powers, by patient, persistent training and effort. He must use his faculties as he does his limbs; he must learn to climb the stairs of mental and moral difficulty as he learns to climb the household stairs. The art of training precedes the art of teaching. The pressing curriculum of daily school life leaves scanty time for this gradual development of all the faculties of a little child.

The kindergarten concerns itself more with the development of faculty than with the mere imparting of knowledge.

It recognizes the fact that all education is learning transformed to faculty. It does not ask so much, "What does the child know?" as, "Has the child learned how to learn?" It looks less to mere acquirements than to the capacity to acquire. It is teaching the little child to teach himself. It is controlling the little child that he may learn the art of self-control. It is the aim of the kindergarten to make men and women who will be self-governing, and thus be a law unto themselves — the sovereign of their own faculties, the pope of their own senses; men and women who will succeed by their own skill and industry.

"What shall we do with our boys and girls?" is a cry that is constantly heard from the laboring classes. In fact the cry comes up from every quarter. There is to-day a fair, white star rising above the horizon of the educational world that is destined to do much toward the illumination of this knotty problem, "What shall we do with our boys and girls?" I refer to the pronounced and increasing tendency toward technical education for the young, which has its foundation in the kindergarten. The feeling is abroad, it is in the common air, that the education of the future must develop the industrial capacity of the masses, thus leading to virtue, prosperity, and peace. What shall be done with our boys and girls? Educate them for work, for action, for industry; cultivate their powers for creating and organizing; and then the desire for *doing* and *accomplishing* will take the place of the desire for *having* and *getting*. How is this education to be accomplished? Let the president of a late national teachers' association make reply. He says: "Our public-school system can not be regarded as complete until the department of manual labor is added. State education must teach the children of the people to work, without which they can never become good citizens. The many must live by labor, and the school must help them so to live; there must be schools where they can learn to be workers."

Wendell Phillips goes straight to the heart of the matter

where he says: "Seven out of ten who come out of our public schools will be obliged to make their living by the work of their hands. Hundreds leave school at fifteen years of age wholly unable to do anything for which any one would be willing or could afford to give them a dollar. The boy who is going to the university has two or three more years of education given him to fit him for his future. Why should not the city extend to the children who prefer some mechanical trade equal favors, parallel advantages, the same amount of training for their future that the university boy has for his? The discrimination against those who prefer to work with their hands is very unjust. Education should fit a boy for the life of labor which is to be his life. The vast bulk of mankind must depend upon labor. There is no degradation in labor. If performed with moral qualities, it exalts the character. Labor is honorable."

We contend that the kindergarten is the only true foundation for industrial education. In the first place, the kindergarten looks vigilantly after the physical life; this is the substratum, the soil, out of which all other life must spring. Physical integrity is the very first condition of success and happiness. "On the broad and firm foundation of health alone can the loftiest and most enduring structure of life be reared." One definition of a man is, "An intelligence served by organs"; and to serve him well, these organs must be in good repair. A sound body is the best handmaid to a sound intellect. In the consentaneous cultivation of the physical, the mental, and the moral the highest perfection is to be found. There must be a balanced progress in which no part profits or is fostered to the injury of the rest. Herbert Spencer insists that to develop the physical, play is better than gymnastics. The kindergarten, in its work with little children, has been called "organized play." Frederick Froebel saw that this universal instinct for play in little children had a deep meaning, and he set himself to discover and utilize this mighty enginery of power and purpose.

MRS. ADLAI E. STEVENSON.

The kindergarten is the best agency for setting in motion the physical, mental, and moral machinery of the little child, that it may do its own work in its own way. It is the rain, and dew, and sun that evoke the sleeping germ and bring it into self-activity and growth. It is teaching the little child to teach himself. The kindergarten devotes itself more to ideas than to words; more to things than to books. Children are taught words too much, while they fail to catch ideas. Give a child ideas. The world does not need fine rhetoric, valuable as that is, half so much as it needs practical, useful ideas. A famous inventor's counsel to a young man was: "Study to have ideas, my boy; study to have ideas. I have always found that if I had an idea I could express it on a shingle with a piece of chalk and let a draughtsman work it out handsomely and according to rule. I generally had ideas enough to keep three or four draughtsmen busy. You can always hire draughtsmen, but you can not hire ideas. Study to have ideas, my boy." The man should be the master, not the slave, of his learning, and whether he is the one or the other depends very largely on the way his knowledge has been gained. It is better to be the master of a little knowledge, with the capacity to use it creatively, than to be the unproductive carrier of all the learning in the libraries. Study to have ideas; life will give no end of opportunities for using them. That is exactly the aim of the kindergarten — to make the mind creative, to stimulate thought, to beget ideas. Habits of observation are cultivated. Observing is more than seeing. The child in the kindergarten is taught to observe — that is, to notice with attention, to see truly. What he learns in the school-room is calculated to make him keep his eyes wide open to the world about him. He is taught to think, and that is the primary thing. The kindergarten makes the knowledge of ideas wait upon the knowledge of facts, just as it subordinates the cultivation of the memory to the development of faculty.

The senses are sharpened, the hands are trained, and the

body is made lithe and active. The gifts and occupations represent every kind of technical activity. The children must work for what they get. They learn through doing. They thus develop patience, perseverance, skill, and will-power. They are encouraged by every fresh achievement. What they know they must know thoroughly and accurately. Every element of knowledge is transformed into an element of creation. The mind assimilates what it receives, just as a healthy organism assimilates its food and is nourished thereby. In his occupations in the kindergarten the child is required to handle, reconstruct, combine, and create. "Let the very playthings of your children have a bearing upon the life and work of the coming man," said Aristotle; "it is early training that makes the master." This universal instinct of play in the child means something. It should be turned to good account. It should be made constructive in its outcome, instead of destructive. This restless activity of the child is the foundation of the indefatigable enterprise of the man. This habit of work must be formed early in life, if we would have it a pleasure. Activity is the law of healthful childhood. Turn it to good account. The perceptive faculties in a well-endowed child are far in excess of the reflective faculties. He sees everything; he wants to know about everything. He will find out if he can. Sensible mothers understand this fact, and keep their household gods well out of the way of the young "heir apparent." Just as old Dolly Winthrop said, in "Silas Marner": "If you can't bring your mind to frighten the child off touching things, you must do what you can to keep 'em out of the way. That's what I do wi' the pups as the lads are allays a-rearing. They will worry and gnaw, worry and gnaw they will, if it was one's Sunday cap as hung anywhere so as they could drag it. They know no difference, God help 'em; it's the pushing o' the teeth as sets 'em on, that's what it is." That's exactly what it is with the restless child. It's the pushing of the teeth, the intellectual

molars and bicuspids, so to speak. They are getting ready to masticate their mental food.

Bodily vigor, mental activity, and moral activity are indispensable to a perfected life. All these are cherished and developed in the true kindergarten; all these make the man, and prepare him for efficient work in every department of life. Every child should have the privilege of making the most of himself by unfolding all that is in him. As one of the most noted among the disciples of the great Froebel, Miss Emily Sherriff, of London, says: "The poor man suffers wrong when his education is so defective that he can not use his faculties aright, when his senses are blunted, his observation and judgment insecure. This wrong to the poor may be avoided by early methodical training in the kindergarten, thus fitting them for industrial pursuits. As it is now," she goes on, "when boys and girls leave school to go to some trade, they go with hands and eyes absolutely uncultivated; they begin with clumsy fingers, with that untrue habit of vision which belongs to those who have never learned the difference between accurate and inaccurate impressions." Suppose these children had been first trained in the kindergarten — taught there to observe resemblances and differences of forms and colors, to reproduce accurately what they have observed accurately, to have acquired a certain sureness and delicacy of handling, which would be further cultivated by drawing at school — then these boys and girls would enter an industrial apprenticeship, or any technical school, in a very different condition; they would be able to grapple at once with ordinary difficulties, instead of beginning the education of their hands and senses, and would in consequence reach much sooner the degree of proficiency that insures payment for work. When we withhold this cultivation of the senses and of manual dexterity, we actually maim children in the use of some of the most important faculties; we rob them of what nature designed for them. It is a fact that too little

thought is given to boys and girls who upon leaving school will enter industrial ranks. Too large a share of training is paid to mere intellectual development; too little to practical morality and manual training. It is charged by some that our public schools tend to unfit our boys and girls for good, honest work. Is the charge true? I do not believe it is. It ought not to be so. But a thoughtful observer and educator wisely says that four years of study without labor, wholly removed from sympathy with the laboring world, during the period of life when tastes and habits are rapidly formed, will almost inevitably produce disinclination, if not inability, to perform the work and duties of the shop or farm. There must be something wrong where such a feeling exists. That notable nation from which we have derived more good sense and more examples worthy of imitation than from all others, the Jewish nation, stands preëminent in this, that it has always honored labor. Every child was taught some manual craft, so that if his resources failed there should be no Jewish child who should not be able to do something, or make something. It is not necessary to be a drudge in order to be a workman. The kindergarten ennobles toil. It teaches the little child to work with his hand, but to control his work with his head. Let this purpose and spirit pervade industrial education until the child reaches manhood's estate, and his labor will be full, not only of manly quality, but of moral quality as well. The coördination of the work-shop and the school-house would be the emancipation of labor from present prejudices.

There is another point full of suggestive sadness in regard to the lack of industrial training. What has been found in regard to several thousand prison convicts in two of the largest penitentiaries of the East? The great, salient, flaming fact is not that they can not read and write, not that they had not been to Sunday school, not that they were intemperate; but the most common, the most generic fact is that these convicts know no trade, most of them being entirely ignorant of all trade knowledge. Few, if any, of

our large cities have ever expended a dollar to teach a boy a trade. How much does it cost for criminals?

Then, again, it has been carefully estimated that seven-tenths of the convicted criminals of the United States are persons who have never learned a trade, or followed any industrial pursuit. And a very large proportion of these criminals are under twenty-five years of age. What a suggestive fact! Does not public economy demand that something be done to provide facilities for teaching young men industrial pursuits? They can not become mechanics without the opportunities of learning a trade. Idleness is the devil's workshop. Demolish this workshop with the batteries of industry. The prevention of crime is the duty of society. Society has no right to punish crime at one end if it does nothing to prevent it at the other end. Society's chief concern should be to remove the causes from which crime springs. We may be very eloquent in pleading that punishments shall be quick, sharp, and decisive, that the gallows shall have every victim that it claims by law, and that eternal vigilance shall be kept on evil-doers. But all this will not avail. Ruskin says truly: "Crime can not be hindered by punishment. It will always find some shape and outlet unpunishable and unclosed." Crime can only be truly hindered by letting no boy grow up to be a criminal, by taking away the will to commit sin, not by the mere punishment of its commission. Formation, not reformation, should be the watchword. Crime, small and great, can only be stayed by formation, education; not the education of the intellect merely, but the education of the head, heart, and hand, which is the education of the whole man.

Better, far better, to plant kindergartens, and organize industrial schools, and educate the young for work, than to let them grow up in such a manner as to be good for nothing else than to form Jacobin clubs and revolutionary brigades which will be the beginning of the end of our greatness and prosperity, and of the republic itself. We may make laws and constitutions on paper, but character is

a growth, and to all growth belongs the element of time. We must call the little children from the very earliest years, and prepare them for useful and honorable citizenship. I have tried to outline the plan. Let me briefly summarize. Take the very little child into the kindergarten and there begin the work of physical, mental, and moral training. Put the child in possession of his powers: develop his faculties: unfold his moral nature: cultivate mechanical skill in the use of the hands: give him a sense of symmetry and harmony, a quick judgment of number, measure, and size: stimulate his inventive faculties: make him familiar with the customs and usages of well-ordered lives: teach him to be kind, courteous, helpful, and unselfish: inspire him to love whatsoever things are true, and pure, and right, and kind, and noble: and thus equipped, physically, mentally, and morally, send him forth to the wider range of study, which should include within its scope some sort of industrial training. This training should put the boy or girl into the possession of the tools for technical employment, or for the cultivation of the arts of drawing and kindred employments: still further on the boy and girl should have a completed trade. Thus will they be prepared to solve the rugged problem of existence by earning their own living through honest, faithful work. Throw open the kindergarten and the schools for industrial and art training to every child, and, with the heart pure, the head clear, the hand skillful and ready, we shall hear no more of the mutterings of mob violence and internecine strife. Our fair land shall take its place in the very front ranks of nations distinguished for their industrial achievements. There must be more of genuine human sympathy between the top and the bottom of society. The prosperous and the happy must join hand and heart with the toilers and strugglers. The living, loving self is wanted. The heart must be the missionary. The life must be the sermon. All mankind must be brethren. The children must be taught these great principles, and aided in putting them into practice.

DISCUSSION OF MRS. COOPER'S PAPER BY MRS. CAROLINE M. SEVERANCE OF CALIFORNIA.

I have but a few words to say, but they are very practical. Having accepted the value of the kindergarten, as you do to-night by being present, the next questions are: "Why should we try to make the kindergarten a part of the public-school system, and how shall we do it?" The public-school system now is arranged only for the very poor or for the very rich, for those who can pay high prices or for those who will send their children to the free kindergarten; but our hope is to get the kindergartens into the public schools, in order that all classes — and who need them more than the poorer classes? — can be sent there, and that the children may be kept entirely free from dogmatic theology and know only the Heavenly Father, and rejoice in his sunshine and air, and in his blessings, and later there will be time enough to learn of the miserable theology that we have.

DISCUSSION OF MRS. COOPER'S PAPER BY REV. MILA FRANCES TUPPER OF MICHIGAN.

About the time that America was arousing to its sense of new responsibility toward its individual people, evinced by the battle of Bunker Hill and the following battles, a man of unique personality in Germany was trying a series of strangely unsuccessful experiments in dealing with little children. The era of Pestalozzi and that of our American Revolution cover about the same period. I have always been glad that this was true; it seems to me that unless this developing human race learns how to develop itself by the very best means in the world, that experiment inaugurated a century ago would necessarily be a failure. You know the reason humanity is so very much better than other forms of evolving life is that it has reached the stage where it can look back over its progress

and find the means whereby it has developed; it uses the laws that are found in that development; it takes the younger, weaker portions of the race in its arms and lifts them according to the same laws whereby men find that they themselves have been elevated. In other words, humanity's evolution now is deliberate consciousness, and that is all that the science and philosophy of education means — finding out its laws, making the most of them, and helping those who have not so far had the best help. We hear people ask: "Do we believe in the kindergarten?" I wonder sometimes whether we might not just as well ask: "Do we believe in trying to develop the little human beings that come into the world, and do we believe in education or cultivation at all?" The kindergarten system is not anything that is hide-bound, nothing that is settled into stereotyped forms, at all. It is simply the name now given to the best means that have been discovered so far for the systematic development of the little members of the human race, those who are beginning life. One hundred years from now the system may have developed vastly different methods; its spirit may have become more enlightened; its vision cleared so that we may scarcely recognize the method; but it will be the same system, because, starting with the careful observation of individuals, it found the laws of development among children.

Well-nigh every town and every school board will claim economy as the motive for keeping kindergartens out of the public school. I would urge that they be placed in the public schools because of their economy. We waste in this broad land of ours the most valuable years of the children's lives. Two or three years prior to the time when a child usually enters the public schools could be used to vastly greater advantage than any of the later years. In the boat races at colleges, months before they begin to drill on the lake they begin to drill in the gymnasium, getting the muscles in trim and getting the general system in order; and so the kindergarten would get the whole system and

nature of the child into good condition, so that when the alphabet and the number lessons came the children would be ready for them, developed in eye and ear and other faculties.

We now scarcely realize what an obstruction these studies are to the children. The teacher is burdened by undisciplined children, so that things that ought to be learned in a few months take years, so that the science has to be left for the high school, and things that might easily come with the readiness of a child's memory have to be put away off where the period of generalization comes. We could have years more, as far as actual results are concerned, if we would begin at an earlier time. And this does not mean that the child is to be overtrained — that is, its mind developed too rapidly. It is done in a natural fashion, so that the child is always better for it.

Now, in regard to the industrial problem, I was glad of what was said in the original paper in regard to the need of equalizing the advantages. Oh, it is pitiful in this world of ours that so many people never know what it is to enjoy the beauties of life, the finer, softer, and more finished things — the things that really give the reasons for life — and if we could in this way take these little hobblers off the street and put into their souls a love of the beautiful, it would never depart from them. Do you think of any insanity greater than to leave on our city streets children of the ages from three to six utterly without training, when the same amount of time, from thirteen to sixteen, has to be put into the shop? Most children have to leave school at the early age of twelve, thirteen, and fourteen. If we could only utilize these years that they have lost in this earlier part of their life, how much more just would it be!

There is another phase that always attracts me more than the kindergarten itself, and that is the training school that must inevitably go with the kindergarten. I believe the time will come when it will be considered a great lack in the education of every girl not to have had a training in

the principles of child-development and child-culture. The time will come when it will be equally necessary that every man should have the same training, that every human being that has any kind of relationship with little children in the world should have systematic and careful training for that relationship. If in every school in the city there was a kindergarten there would necessarily be in the high school a training school for kindergartners. This training school would send out into the world every year young women who were trained—young women who for many months had had their attention directed to the fundamental laws of psychology, and all the various things that have to do with the development of tender, tiny child-life. If any one of you has given any thought to this matter, or been associated with many mothers, have you not seen them violate at almost every turn some fundamental law, not only of psychology, but of morals?

In a thousand instances we lose the higher and more delicate distinctions of morality in dealing with children, and such violations could scarcely be if for even three months in the high school a girl's thought had been directed in these channels.

The kindergarten must be eventually in our public schools, because every year of our life must be used to the best advantage; we can not let grow up to weeds those precious years, most precious of all in the home. It is needed in the public school because it will inevitably bring about that cycle of training whereby the mothers will be trained as well as the children. It will help to prepare us for that day, which I hope another generation at least will see, when every one will have leisure enough in some way to live really as a human being. So it will help on the reign that is to come when our industrial system is in a little better shape, and so we shall have developed human beings as well as grinding labor-machines. It will, more than all, tend to give throughout all humanity that sense of rever-

ence for human life, that reverence for the little blossoming buds of the world, which if once in our souls will make us reverence every human being; and it will fit us for the coming of that day "wherein reigneth righteousness."

## The Kindergarten and the Primary School—Address by Miss N. Cropsey, Superintendent of Primary Instruction in the Indianapolis Public Schools.

A system of education is inspired by the philosophical and moral ideas of the time. More than one man must give consent to its general fundamental notions before doctrines can grow into systems of practice. A system of education is the consequence of all that we believe. It forms the present, and is formed by our ideals of what man should be.

The doctrines taught by Froebel have universal application. The primary school and all education of our time, kindergarten and university, should be based upon Froebel's theory of the education of man, because it is a comprehensive philosophy of human life. It does not differ from the thought of other great philosophers. Rosmini, Froebel's great contemporary in Italy, applies to education the same doctrines. We receive them now because we are coming to realize unity. The individual does not stand unrelated to the whole; nor is he to be broken and unrelated to himself, but whole and efficient.

It is impossible in a short discussion to trace the development of educational thought. We may only repeat a few of the great names which have made the kindergarten and the primary school of our time possible: Plato, Plutarch, Luther. To the Greek thought of harmonious development we must return. Greece has given us typical forms in art, in deeds, in thought — ideals which must produce different results, under new conditions, it is true. With the name of Luther the primary school begins.

Rousseau, in 1778, was the protestant against the mean-

ingless forms imposed upon children in the name of education, who preached the return to nature, but did not know how rightly to relate nature to human nature, and, crying in the wilderness, prepared the way for Pestalozzi.

Pestalozzi first definitely applied the idea of organic growth to education, which was more clearly and consistently applied by Froebel. Froebel created a world for the child which, by its conditions, made right action and spontaneous action one. The right impulse now results in right deed.

Froebel saw that man's need was unity of development, or perfect evolution in accordance with the laws of his being — such evolution as science discovers in the other organisms of nature. Throughout life he was always seeking for the underlying unity in all things. Man and nature proceed from the same source, and must be governed by the same laws. Nature he saw as one expression of the mind of God.

Froebel's effort was to give men to themselves. "Man's destiny is harmonious growth through self-activity. It is treason to human nature to consider man essentially bad. Man thereby denies God in humanity, and hence the ways and means of truly knowing God."

The psychology of infancy is beginning to be fairly well understood. We are at least awakened to its importance. The primary school has been reformed by the kindergarten idea, and some kindergartens need to be reformed by the Froebelian idea. Heroic, self-sacrificing work has been done, yet so far are we from successful education that we can scarcely pause a moment for self-congratulation.

Froebel's work, like that of Rosmini, was only a fragment. In the man at every stage of life there is something of the child; there is a new development going on within him, which requires to be guided until he is able to educate himself. In notes left by Rosmini he proposed to treat of the period of development from the seventh to the fourteenth year, especially with reference to the conscious

knowledge of moral obligation and law. It is thought that he would have given a clear demonstration of what he more than once said, that upon this period principally depends the character of the man for good or evil. It is to this period of development that the whole educational world needs now to direct its attention.

A new civilization is upon us for which no adequate provision has been made. A century ago the child was on the old farm, in contact with real things, the real delights of nature, the real joys and responsibilities of the family, for whose comfort and success he was, in part, responsible. Adam Bede goes to work with his father when he is only a little lad. Our child lives in a crowded city, in a flat. He has no direct contact with nature — nothing to do after school hours but to wander in the streets. He sees his father once or twice a week.

Intelligence on a low plane offers greater temptations to the bad than have ever been devised before. The schools are not adequate to the needs of our time. We must have help — the help of intelligent criticism on the part of the public. There must be some comprehension of the immense work we have to do with half an army of teachers on half pay. We have neither teachers nor a curriculum to meet the demands which the present generation is making by its increasing mind activity, which is negative and for bad unless directed.

The word development is most familiar in modern thought and modern education. It means a change from simplicity to complexity of structure, greater power, and skill in all directions, yet in perfect harmony with the nature of the individual. Development does not mean merely an increase in knowledge or muscle, though it may include these. Only such exercise as is proportioned to the strength of the being, produces development. Is this process in the human being easy to understand and direct?

Instinct is good as far as it goes; it does not go far. We have learned something by experience when it is too

late to save the life. Only the thoughtful, the clear, pure mind sees the future in the present germ. Is it possible that we in this republic, in this nineteenth century, are trusting fifty little children to the care of one young woman, expecting her to return them to us harmoniously growing in body, mind, and spirit? Women are wonderful — they can perform miracles — but this is asking too much.

It has been well said recently that the "new education" lies in the spirit of the teacher, rather than in the subject taught. A child ten years old can master the subjects taught in a primary school, or the sequence of exercises given in a kindergarten. But a child, or a childish man or woman, can not use these exercises in such a way as to develop a human being to successful living. It is only the mature, highly organized, spiritual mind that can direct mind. The mature person may have lived many years or few; it matters not.

There must be an inner connection between the mind of the teacher and the mind of the child, between the mind of the child and the subject upon which the mind is exercised. The quality of mind which classifies by externals, by appearance, can not see this inner movement of spirit. Reform must come —

First. By requiring a higher quality of mind to direct and form the soul of the child. A high order of mind can influence fifty children, and help them to educate each other. A lower order of mind can not influence one child. "The young, whom they should be guiding upward, stay idling at the foot of the hill, or the nobler spirits, pressing forward unguided, fall exhausted and shattered on the cliffs."

Second. By a better course of study, in which we must include art education and industrial training, not for the sake of the product, but for the sake of the human being, moral and physical.

Third. The number of children intrusted to one person must be reduced.

We of this generation have only one duty to perform —

that is to prepare the next generation to live on a higher plane than that on which we are living; to prepare them to take possession of themselves and of the world. There is one question which each generation asks, and which each must answer — the same old question — what must we do to be saved? There is only one answer for us — the new education of the home, the school, and the church.

Will the people themselves support this new education? Whatever the plans brought before this congress for the improvement of humanity, whether in art, industries, charities, temperance, or religion, each speaker, at the last, has laid the responsibility of reform upon the education of the children. This is both hopeful and discouraging; hopeful in that we have all come to agree upon this fundamental necessity; discouraging in that the way has not been provided. There are not ten superintendents of schools in the United States of America who would dare appoint good teachers, even if sufficient money were provided to induce capable people to undertake the work. The public school ought to be the sacred institution of the republic.

We need the influence of women as directors of education, on school boards, and as superintendents, who, acting with men of moral courage, shall use the school for the child, and not for selfish personal and political ends.

### The Ethical Influence of Woman in Education — Address by Mrs. Kate Tupper Galpin of California.

The "school ma'am" is a distinctive feature of American civilization. No other woman wage-earner in the world receives as great compensation for her work; no woman-worker is more highly respected. In many communities she is the leader of the social and intellectual life, and is so quoted, regarded, and bowed down before that many a lady of the manor might envy the influence accorded to her. "Teacher said so" is the argument that admits of no reply

in the disputes of most well-regulated families, and one that the small boy and the big girl alike have learned to use effectively.

Not only when engaged in the active work of the school-room are teachers a power in the community. Many marry, many enter other occupations, but whatever they do, wherever they go, they are still leaders of thought, directors of the great ethical movements of the day, organizers of clubs, classes, societies, and church activities. The self-reliance, self-control, and ability to control others developed in the school-room make the teacher a power in whatever she undertakes, whether with her children, in the home, or in community enterprises. Drop from the list of names of prominent women in our country all who have taught, and the remaining list will be small indeed, and teaching offers so fine a preparation for motherhood that it is a short-sighted view of life that regrets the brief term of the teacher's work.

But not because of the teacher's enviable individual position as legislator, judge, and executive while in the school-room, nor because of the power she possesses in the community after leaving the school-room, is she so distinctive and so vital a part of our national life. The reason is deeper. Public schools are not charitable institutions; they are institutions on which the safety and perpetuity of our national life depend. Our Government has established public schools not to give every poor boy an opportunity for an education, as is so often thoughtlessly stated, but to provide for itself worthy citizens; for an educated people, and for such only, is the republican form of government the best in the world. "We must educate," is the cry of an imperiled republic. Few children pass beyond the elementary schools. Through their superior fitness for the work the past fifty years has seen the elementary schools pass into the hands of women; therefore all the training for citizenship that most natives of the United States receive at school they receive at the hands of women. A strange anomaly, that women should

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have proven themselves the fittest trainers for citizens and yet be found unworthy of citizenship! This anomaly defies logic.

Not facts, but power to generalize and apply facts to specific life, is now the great thing needful. The distinctive office of the school is to train the mind and to furnish it with knowledge on which to exercise its power, but the highest demand made upon the school is the upbuilding of character. If it fails in this it fails in all. The charge is continually made that it is failing; still worse, the absolute immorality of the public school is urged by religious bigots, and they are echoed by many of whom we have a right to expect clear thinking. This ignorance of the influence at work in the modern school is culpable. The church is itself second to the public school as an ethical agent in our country, and I doubt if now the home is surpassed by it. In the first place, the intellectual can not be separated from the moral. Every student of ethics agrees with Socrates that knowledge is virtue. The dull brain is the one to be feared as well as to be deplored in all the relations of life. In the words of a teacher: "It is where obtuseness is, where ignorance is, where the thick head is, that there is doggedness, and narrowness, and opinionativeness, and bigotry, and self-conceit, and sulkiness, and soil for whatever is unhealthy, unsocial, immoral and a hindrance among men." Wherever the teacher arouses the stupid mind, or gives an edge to dull thought, she is doing work having eminent moral value. She is doing, perhaps, the most that can be done in the real elevation of character. Truth is one and universal. What is good for the mind is good for the morals. The opposite holds also — what is bad for the mind is bad for the morals. Slovenly habits of thought are absolutely immoral in their effects. But it is not alone in the development of true thought that the school is a moral power — the revolution in discipline has been complete in the years that have seen women make the rules in the schoolroom. The idea of the moral necessity for flagellation had

been so instilled in the minds of the rulers of children, and was so supported by most sound authority and custom, that the first objection, and the most persistent, to be urged against a woman teacher was that "she couldn't thrash the boys."

The most advanced never dreamed that a school could be controlled without blows, and that through woman's very inability to give them effectively would come a more excellent way. Women brought to the school the two greatest characteristics needed in child-care — patience, the out-growth of years of limitations, and sympathy with childhood, the out-growth of the natural instinct.

They brought, too, the great housekeeping characteristics — love of neatness and order, attention to detail, and thoroughness in the doing of little things. As a result we have had an entire change in school management, which makes it the great ethical agent it is to-day.

There is that in the mere mechanism of a well-regulated modern school which trains the secondary virtues as no other influence can. Punctuality, regularity, cleanliness, order, courtesy of manner, all so essential to success in business life, are inculcated in all schools worthy the name.

We hear much said of the importance of manual training being introduced into our schools, and its importance can not be overestimated, but, grave as is the need for trained workmen, the employer urges the graver need for men who are faithful to duty, who are dependable, who are true to the small fidelities. The schools best subserve the good of the country in this respect by cultivating the sense of responsibility in the child. I believe it is important that a child be taught to drive nails, but it is of infinitely greater importance that he be taught to drive every nail that it is his duty to drive after he has learned to drive nails. Attention, industry, promptitude, and dispatch are much more difficult things to teach than Sloyd, and Sloyd of itself will never teach them. It matters not so much what is taught as how it is taught. The characteristics enumerated

are developed by thorough work in any line, manual or intellectual, and when once developed manifest themselves in whatever work comes to hand. The school where the child knows that the lesson must be learned in the time allotted, and learned perfectly; the school where tardiness and irregularity are not tolerated, and to which the child is sent in spite of headache, or base-ball, or visits, or circus, thus making it the business of his life, will give at last these fundamentals of steadfast strength and sturdiness of purpose that will make him a power in any work.

Respect for authority and for the character of others, thoughtfulness of the rights of others, and faithfulness to obligations, all so essential in community life, are of necessity developed by the school relations.

The higher morals — truthfulness, honesty, justice, honor — are taught either through incidents of school life or through discussions of lessons; or through private admonitions which violations of good conduct call forth. Doctor Harris places kindness at the head of all the school-room virtues, and it is certain that all the virtues spring to life at its bidding. There is scarcely a virtue that the public school does not possess, and there is no virtue that it may not possess, if the teacher is true to her calling, and is animated by the proper spirit; for, underlying all, permeating all, paramount to all other influence of the school, is the character of the teacher. Each in her own little realm may truthfully say, and solemnly, "I am the school." All moral excellence is contagious, and all the laws governing physical contagion obtain. The germs of a virtue can not be planted at will in the character of another. No process of spiritual inoculation of special virtues has as yet been discovered. If the teacher would teach honesty she must be honest; if she would teach love of truth she must be true, through and through. All methodizing fails here, but a teacher who stands before her school the embodiment of conscientious duty-doing, and of scrupulous truth and honesty, can no more fail to teach duty-doing, truth, and hon-

esty than the sun can fail to warm when its rays fall. She who is doing her best without stint, and with every unconscious suggestion of solicitude and self-sacrifice, is giving off virtue from her very garment's hem, and is teaching morals whether she is hearing a class in arithmetic or marshaling her children in line in the school-yard. If we are right in believing that the foundation of the state is the public school, and that the influence of each individual school, for weal or woe, is entirely dependent upon the character of the woman at its head, then by cultivating the character of the teaching force of our country we give our nation's future a sure and mighty uplift, and no duty is more imperative on the nation than the thorough training of its teaching force. The young woman who is to become a teacher should be surrounded with all the ennobling and broadening influences possible. The narrow financial policy of most States in the treatment of their normal schools necessarily equips them with teachers inferior in talent and acquirements to those of the richly endowed universities, and limits opportunity for culture in all directions. No expense is spared to educate young men for the nation's defense in the naval and military academies. After carefully selecting them, because of superior intellectual, physical, and moral fitness, we make them the charges of the nation until thoroughly fitted for their work. And yet that will be to guard the nation against dangers from without alone. The young women whose work it will be to guard the nation from the graver, more imminent dangers from within, the dangers of unworthy citizenship, have poor opportunities for preparation, and they must avail themselves of these opportunities as best they can, often weighted with poverty and natural unfitness for the work.

The hours of a teacher's work cover those of the day that other women use for interchange of thought, and the evening finds her so exhausted of nerve-force that she is tempted to rest and solitude, unless uncompleted tasks claim her and exhaust her further.

To breathe over and over again the same atmosphere is as harmful to the mind and spirit as to the body. A teacher needs to inhale fresh spiritual breaths with each day's advent. To be truly the angel of the school she must oftentimes use her wings and rise above the school into aerial heights, whose draughts shall refresh and vivify, and from which new, and broad, and inspiring views may be obtained.

Our nation's future suffers much because of the limited outlook of the teachers. The four walls of the school-room mark the horizon of the majority of the so-called earnest workers, and the pity of it is that this narrowness is lauded as virtue, is praised as devotion to the work, is proclaimed as the ideal of duty-doing. When to be more of a teacher demands to be less of a woman, it is time to cry halt and prepare for defense, for an enemy of childhood advances. What childhood needs for its full development is contact with fully developed womanhood. This is God's law.

We have known mothers whose time and strength were so given to the cares of the household that all thought of self was lost, and mind, heart, and body were weakened, shriveled, and dwarfed until nothing but a caricature or a pitiable distortion of womanhood remained. The self-surrender was complete and the sacrifice heroic, but it was a suicidal self-surrender and a mistaken sacrifice. The true teacher's measure is the true mother's measure — not the painful pursuing to senseless nicety of the petty details of child-care, but a steady nerve and measureless sympathy, a strong, wise thought, uninfluenced by weak feeling, but able to distinguish essentials from non-essentials.

A wise conservation of energy must precede a liberal expenditure of energy. She who saves herself that she may wisely give herself is most generous, for it is she who can give full measure, pressed down and running over, when the true time for giving comes. Again I emphasize the grave need for the most careful training, the broadest culture, the development of the complete womanhood of those into whose hands the state intrusts its children. A stream

can rise no higher than its source, and the source of the mightiest influences flowing through the school-room is the teacher.

DISCUSSION OF MRS. GALPIN'S PAPER BY MRS. W. D. CABELL OF WASHINGTON, D. C., REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NATIONAL SOCIETY OF THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

Without change in her relations to man and to society, woman's work partakes of the general extension and evolution in which she has taken part. She needs, in my opinion, no additional powers or privileges — simply the opportunity, daily widening, to exert her manifold endowments. However great her intellectual gifts, however broad her culture, her supreme function, now as ever, is to bring forth children; her overwhelming responsibility is to bring them up. Maternity is her mission, education her work, the home at once her kingdom and her sphere.

Society is based upon the assumption that men and women come together in congeniality and love; that they work together for the progeny they are responsible for bringing into the world, and that their highest duty, their best service, is to make these children happier and better than themselves.

It is with the woman's share of this labor that we are dealing to-day. Upon the vantage ground of her motherhood she stands, clasping to her bosom the tiny creature to which she has given life, and upon whose soft and complex soul she must stamp an image for good or evil to endure throughout eternity. Who dares say, in contemplating a marvel like this, that woman occupies or has ever occupied a subordinate position to man; that her powers are withered for want of use; that her scope is small, and that she needs for her full development to share more of the prerogatives of man? If it be true that education is the mighty interest of mankind, the Archimedean lever by which the world

must be moved; if preachers and public-school teachers are right in proclaiming that, before a child can read, the essential qualities of its character are formed, then is woman the arbiter of the world; her physical soundness, her mental strength, her moral perfection are more important elements in the salvation of the race than any of the boasted attributes of man. And these great claims the poets and philosophers concede. "Earth's noblest thing," they write, "is woman perfected."

Even in the darkest hour of moral degradation in France, the greatest mocking skeptics could proclaim: "All the reasonings of men are not worth one sentiment of women."

If she is true to her responsibilities, and equal to her opportunities, woman in the holy empire of the home begins the great work of education, and anticipates the ethics of the schools. No easy task is hers to rear the brood which nestle under her protecting love; to provide for physical wants and secure the full development of limbs and muscles, of nerves and brain, to make her little animals sound and strong and pure, that they may become the founders and directors of a yet better generation. Nor is the further work of training the young minds and guiding the strong wills an easier one, for these beings bring with them potent and inherited individuality, with which she must grapple, while it is yet unrevealed and unconscious, if it is to receive any permanent impressions whatever.

Woman's ethical influence in the great scheme of education is based, therefore, upon the grand central truth of love. Her work is preëminently great in that it is concerned with the beginnings of things, in that she lays the foundation upon which the whole superstructure rests. When the boy or girl enters the mimic world of the schoolroom the character should be essentially formed. The experience, often painful, of teachers testifies that it is formed. We are prone to underestimate the intelligence, or at least the apprehension, of a child. Wise people are misled by the unformed manners, the babyish voice, the

delicate beauty of a little boy or girl whose bright intelligence grasps a situation at once and appreciates perfectly the difference between right and wrong, the proper and the unseemly, truth and falsehood. These perceptive and discriminating faculties of the child must be early trained to grasp the good and reject the evil, if the fruits of subsequent instruction are to be other than ashes and bitterness, apples of Sodom and Gomorrah.

While woman has this early training of the child, and does it with her might, she is a queen. She has scope in it for the employment of every conceivable faculty of the mind and soul. Education can not set her above this work. Talents of the loftiest order can not exempt her from it if she has assumed the duties of maternity. Anything else she attempts or performs must be subsidiary to it. Awful would be any changes in her social status compelling or permitting her to delegate her high office to any other hands. No conceivable advantage to woman can compensate her for the loss of the inner life of that holiest of holies — her home. It would profit her little, although she gained the whole world of fortune and fame, if she could not reply worthily, with the approval of her soul, to the searching summons:

"Where is the flock that I have given thee, the beautiful flock?"

## DISCUSSION OF MRS. GALPIN'S PAPER BY MRS. ANNA BYFORD LEONARD OF ILLINOIS.

Starting from the standpoint that evolution proceeds at the same time along three lines, the physical, mental, and spiritual, and that education is the attempt to aid development along these lines, it is evident that the spiritual is the most important, from the fact that it embraces the moral and higher nature, and that it is the only one of the three carrying over from life to life, or beyond this life.

It is self-evident, then, that the unfolding of the spiritual nature, the inner man, is the most necessary factor in evolution. That woman by her very constitution is best fitted to aid in this education is certain. Born with a moral bias, the ability to discern the infinite in the finite, and that subtle intuition which enables spirit to come in contact with spirit, she has the power to discern the truth or interior nature of things, and thus to receive divine illumination.

It is this divine illumination which will enable her to lead and guide the coming race of humanity upward in its evolution toward God and a perfected humanity. That she possesses the innate force to accomplish this work is evident from the moral qualities which have characterized her for many generations.

Faithfulness, devotion, long-suffering, and altruism have been gradually preparing her for the work which the hour demands. That she is ready, this large congress of women, assembled from all parts of the world, amply testifies; that she will insist upon the rights of her convictions none will deny who are familiar with her faithfulness to her duty and her ability to suffer.

Hoping everything and fearing nothing, she sends out the searching ray into the darkest recesses of the night of human ignorance and superstition, exposing the fallacies of the age, and by her moral force and her regenerate thought uplifts the masses of humanity and restores to them their divine birthright.

DISCUSSION OF MRS. GALPIN'S PAPER BY FRANCES STEWART MOSHER OF MICHIGAN, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NATIONAL FREEWILL BAPTIST WOMAN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

It would be interesting to find a country of highly cultured educators who were all men, and compare its ethical status with another of equal literary merit whose instructors were both men and women. That we can not do; for,

as the fabled Eastern bird, endowed with only one wing, remains earth-bound until, joined to its mate, on double pinions they soar aloft, so men and women rise together in culture and refinement.

What are the essential elements that women especially contribute to the formation of character and the education of inquiring minds? Most truly those which they possess themselves.

We should like to ascribe to womanhood the virtues with which the chivalrous middle ages endowed her and the practical abilities which the present concedes to her. Will the circumstances justify such ascription? Are the schools better and is the moral condition of a community higher when many of its instructors are women? In the United States there is an average of over 70 per cent of women teachers, while twelve large cities report the employment of women only in all grades. There is not a department of letters or the sciences which women have not entered as instructors.

The influence on the women themselves has been invaluable. To teach is to learn twice. The lessons of self-control, patience, tact, keenness of perception, and discrimination in judging of human nature have fitted them for other duties of life.

I have sometimes wondered how many of those who compose the bodies forming the National Council have been teachers, either in seminaries, in public or private schools, or in evening or Sunday schools. I wonder how many of our public speakers have learned to move and control audiences through study of their pupils. The list of such is certainly long and honorable, and well sustains a point in favor of the moral influence of woman in education.

Tracing her influence more objectively, we seek the results of her work as a teacher. Mount Holyoke, Smith, Vassar, and a host of other institutions, where both men and women are members of the faculty, come before us as illustrations, and silence controversy.

Hundreds in this and foreign lands attest to the profound ethical influence, direct and indirect, exerted by Emma Willard, Catherine Beecher, and Mary Lyon.

Nor is this praise given to woman as a teacher of her own sex alone. The state has recognized her adaptability to the primary and grammar school, not merely because she will work for small wages, but also because in her very nature lies the motherly instinct that comprehends the child-thought; the patient waiting and watching as the mind gropes amid world mysteries; the faith that holds the little pilgrim moored to the eternal, though lured and baffled by the perplexing unknown, and exults as the child-mind matures with training and experience. Napoleon said that the one who educates the children will control the masses.

The boy as he leaves the school-room remembers still his teacher. Her influence, her principles, are still the ruling powers of his life, and many an idea that develops later, surprising even to himself, will be the result of her teaching. She has directed the shaft, though it falls far from its aim. In this influence lies a potent power, whose results years hence will reap.

## The Popular Inculcation of Economy — Address by Sara Louise Vickers Oberholtzer of Pennsylvania.

An easy, acceptable, and effectual way to inculcate economy and develop individual thrift is through the school savings-bank. This teaching fits the need, and has already proven that its general establishment in the schools of the United States will decrease vastly our criminals and paupers.

Public and private waste are closely allied; the whole is but an aggregate of units, the public but the chorus of the privates. While the children come up to manhood and

womanhood without any practical and economic knowledge of the capabilities of money, we can not reasonably expect them to be thoughtful financiers, or to know the distinction between generosity and extravagance, between justly earned dollars and the catch-up and scatter-about moneys which ruin more especially our young men of to-day. Give them the school savings-banks training, which teaches every depositor how pennies accumulate to dollars and the benefits of the interest system, and they will be able to meet more fully and understandingly the common requirements of life and of the nation.

This method of inculcating thrift is not wholly new. It was in use in a single school in France in 1834. In 1866 it had sectional establishment in Belgium. Professor Laurent of the University of Ghent took up the idea, and introduced it into several institutions. The teaching met much favor and has been quietly working its way over Europe since. The school children of France have now over 12,000,000 francs to their credit in the banks of the republic. Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Russia, Holland, and England have this teaching in some schools, sometimes administered by private associations or individuals, often through the postal savings bank, which is less satisfactory as an instructor.

Several different methods for collecting pennies and inspiring children to industry are employed.

It is of the work in this country that I would more particularly speak. Owing to our rapid growth and a financial success that often exceeds our wisdom, we are perhaps in the greatest need. Abundance begets extravagance; extravagance breeds vice and discontent. As an uplifting and leveling measure, as well as an educational safeguard, we need this teaching in the public schools.

The application of the savings system as in use in North Dakota is so simple, so effective and entertaining that it requires but acquaintance to insure its popularity. We have it operating now in 325 public schools and some pri-

vate institutions. Our school children have $175,000 to their credit in banks. This money stands in the names of the individual depositors, who number about 33,000.

When the system is to be instituted the teacher explains to the scholars the end and aim of the school savings-bank — that it is to teach them the practical value of money, how it grows by attention, the benefits of industry, the delight of giving and spending wisely, and the advantages of thrift.

The roll is called every Monday morning for the collection of the children's savings. This occupies a very short time, even on the morning when the work is instituted. Each child who is a depositor has the little copyright savings-bank card, on the face of which is his name, with that of the school and that of the teacher. On the back are the regulations. The card is folded, and on the inside is the date for each Monday in the school-year, with space opposite for amount of deposit. When the names are called by the teacher each pupil who desires to deposit steps up with his card and money, handing them quickly to the teacher, saying, "Yes, 5 cents," or whatever sum it may be. She, with a figure, credits the amount on the child's card and on her roll-book, passing the card back to the child, who keeps it always in hand as a memorandum and receipt. The first collection in the school is deposited in the bank as a general school fund. When a scholar has deposited 50 cents or $1, as the bank authorities may agree, he is given a bank-book, and the money is placed to his personal credit by the bank; when he has $3, an interest of 3 per cent is allowed him by the bank, and he has the privileges of an adult depositor acting through school facilities. A special teacher's roll-book is arranged with spaces to record most conveniently weekly deposits. The other forms used in connection with the system are simple and calculated to minimize the work. The money collected by each teacher is placed in an envelope, which is so printed as to require at her hand but the number of the school or class and amount of contents. A deposit slip is used in forwarding all collec-

tions by the teacher to the principal, and by the principal to the bank. The envelopes in which teachers send the collection to the principal are sealed, and the total amount is recorded on the deposit slip, previously mentioned, which accompanies the envelope. The envelopes are sent together, thus labeled, to the bank, where the bank authorities open, count, verify, and credit at leisure. With the last collection of each month a monthly record of the scholar's individual deposits is sent by each teacher to the principal of the school, and by him to the bank with the children's bank-books, that credits may be properly made. These lists are returned by the bank to the principal with the scholars' bank-books during the week. The bank-books are given to the children to take to their homes the last Friday of each month, to be returned with the following Monday morning deposits. The principal keeps a record of the weekly collections of the teachers. A check with which pupils withdraw their money requires the signature of parent, or guardian, and principal. The principal uses the general-fund bank-book, received when the first school deposit is made. It is always sent with the weekly deposits and returned to him by messenger, with full amount of credit. This frees him from responsibility, and the arrangement is such that any error can be at once traced to its source.

The bank-books taken into the homes once a month arouse family interest, and parents have often been induced to curtail needless expenses by the practical lesson in the accumulation of small savings thus given them. The teachers become much interested in the growing amounts of their pupils' deposits. In some instances those who have not before had bank deposits have themselves opened accounts and felt the reflex benefit of their own teaching. The practical acquaintance this exercise gives both pupils and teachers with the initial forms of business law — familiarity with the check, deposit-slip, and bank-book — is in itself of value.

It is not the intention of the promoters of the school

savings-bank system that it should be in any sense a Jay Gould hoarding scheme. The idea is to teach the true and best uses of money as a comfort factor — to give the child individuality and a sense of responsibility, knowledge of his every-day needs, and a training that will fit him in a measure to cope understandingly with them. The children of the rich, who are often given money to waste, need this training quite as much as the children of the poor; and to the great middle class, the bone and sinew of our commonwealth, it is a fine supplement to what they have been taught at home. The boy and the girl using these school facilities wisely have each in their individual right, when they leave school, a snug little sum, from one to two hundred dollars in bank; and more, they have approved knowledge that they can by caring properly for the pennies be ever above physical need. They see they have equal right to possess and earn; that above all outward law there is an innate independence which entitles each one to personal possession, responsibility, and citizenship. They are a living argument against socialism, anarchy, drunkenness, and crime.

I do not say all the youth thus taught economy in the schools will be valuable, law-abiding people, but I do assert that, other things being equal, three-fourths of them will; and that if this system, fostered by educators, was in force in all the schools of the United States, this Government would find the annual recruits to its half-million army of paupers vastly decreased. Is it not better to train our people to thrift and to the elements of self-support than to allow them to grow up like Mrs. Stowe's Topsy, or roadside weeds, and then line the way with poor-houses and prisons in which to settle them? Hon. W. T. Harris, commissioner of education, recognizes and willingly forwards this new feature in the school curriculum. He has given us encouragement in the work accomplished; he has on display, in the educational exhibit at the Columbian Exposition, our forms as used in the administration of school savings-

banks, the statistical table representing our progress, and some literature on the subject. The presidents and professors of many of the colleges and universities have written me unsolicited, during the past two years, inquiring into the every-day working of the system, and expressing their approbation and interest. President Fetterolf of Girard College, Philadelphia, asked for particulars of the school savings-banks, last autumn, and writes that he has established from it a savings system which is used with success in Girard College. We Pennsylvanians think it particularly appropriate that the college which owes its existence to the eminently thrifty and economic Stephen Girard should thus effectively commemorate him by teaching his every-day principles practically to the orphan boys for whom his munificence provided. Some of the mission schools use our system acceptably. Among the very poor, the little outcasts of society, this teaching of economy is recognized as a great force against the flagrant socialism born of poverty, envy, and discontent. After all it is perhaps down in the missions that we need most to put in circulation pure air, pure money, and practical thoughts; and we are most heartily glad to reach even a few of them with a tide of reform.

In some of the Indian industrial schools this practical method of training is used. Of the thirty-six public schools into which it has been my privilege to be personally instrumental in placing the school savings-bank teaching during the past year I should like to speak separately, but time will not allow. I refer you to the printed statistical tables here for distribution, to which, with other literature on the subject, I would direct your attention.

A public school in Beloit, Wis., was the first in the United States to use this teaching, and used it from 1876 to 1881 with much local approval, but had little or no following. In 1885 Mr. J. H. Thiry, with a simple system adapted from the French, had the work taken up in Long Island City, N. Y. It continues to operate acceptably there. Of

JULIA WARD HOWE.

the 6,500 scholars on the public-school register, 2,166 are depositors, having over $14,000 to their credit.

My acquaintance with it dates from a convention of Economists in 1888. Passing mention was there made of the school savings-bank, and I immediately made myself familiar with the best methods in use, and gave the scheme newspaper vent. We took it up in my own borough, Norristown, and the adjacent one of Pottstown, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, simultaneously in the winter of 1889. To-day school savings-banks are in acceptable use in 114 schools of Pennsylvania, fifty of them in my own county.

We may be a little old-fogyish in William Penn's staid settlement, from a Western point of view, but we are imbued with the thrift of our Quaker and German ancestry, and are anxious to hand it down the line of coming generations.

About 200 schools in thirteen other States have adopted this teaching, fifty of them in New York. So long as the work is one of private philanthropy it is rather difficult to get records and data of them all.

The deposits of the scholars are entirely voluntary, and on an average about 40 per cent of the pupils in a school are depositors. At Norristown the school children have to their credit $8,033.17, after having withdrawn over $10,000. Their entire collections, with interest accrued in the three and a half years the system has been in use, have been $18,375.17.

These withdrawals of school deposits do not necessarily indicate an expenditure of the money. As the pupils graduate or leave school they have their dealings directly with the banks, while the amounts are no longer listed as school deposits. I could also relate scores of instances where withdrawals have been made for family needs or crying necessities.

These school savings-banks are often established by the aid of bankers, they furnishing the printed forms and encouraging deposits, knowing that, even though it does not always pay from a business point of view to handle the

small savings of hundreds of school children, they are training customers; that children who have bank accounts will make men and women who are bank depositors. Intelligent school directors in most localities are easily interested in this teaching, and the propagation of it is both pleasant and popular.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union has taken up school savings-banks as a department of its work, giving me the superintendency of it in the World's and also in the National W. C. T. U.

The American Academy of Political and Social Science has extended us a helpful hand, publishing in a pamphlet form and giving broad circulation to an address it was my privilege to make before it in Philadelphia last May. Mrs. H. C. Ruth, well known as the Dakota farmer, is awakening interest in North Dakota. The Grangers, the American bankers, and several educational associations have adopted resolutions approving of this practical teaching of economy, and expressing their desire to spread it. The press of the country opens its columns to records of the work, giving it generous editorial mention. In most localities where we have school savings-banks the amount of the Monday deposits of the children are published weekly as items of news.

We are finding response this year in the West. The system was taken up in the public schools of Pueblo, Colo., January 9th; and up to April 30th 743 of the 1,900 pupils in the schools were depositors, and had to their credit as savings $2,099.69. The first school collection was taken in Trinidad, Colo., March 6th; the first in the schools of Wamego, Kan., March 26th. Casselton and Wahpeton, N. Dak., the points most recently taking up the system, made their first collections April 24th.

In order to disseminate this teaching fully it is desirable that as large a proportion of the pupils in a school become depositors as possible. Deposits of small amounts will teach this lesson quite as effectually as larger ones, and it is

the question how many depositors there are in a school, rather than how much have they deposited, that is of vital moment.

## Educational Training in Its Bearing Upon the Promotion of Social Purity — Address by Jennie de la M. Lozier, M. D., Sc. D., of New York City.

It has been said that honor and fame from no condition rise, and equally true is it that sin and shame are found in every class of society and condition of life. Immorality, or violation of the law of purity, can be found as rampant and as gross under silk and velvet as under rags, in the palace and in the hovel, in the African kraal and in the American mansion. It is widespread because it is inherent in ignorance and weakness. It is due to the domination of man's animal nature over his intellectual and moral being. It is no new thing in the world's history, and it is neither more dreadful in quality nor more overwhelming in quantity than it has ever been. But our increasing cognizance of the factors of mental, moral, and physical disorders, due to the spread of scientific information and the use of the scientific method of investigation, enables us to diagnose the malady and to suggest the possible cure.

In moral disease, as in physical disease, we analyze the predisposing and the exciting causes; we differentiate it into sin, or willful wrong, and weakness, or irresponsible wrong. A mistaken diagnosis leads us into the pitfall of quackery, which endeavors by nostrums and patches to conceal the ravages of evil, instead of the true, radical treatment of the conscientious surgeon, who will amputate and ablate from the germ if possible, and thus save the whole organism from corruption and decay.

We have had many doctors in the realms of metaphysics and of physics. What we need to-day, imperatively and universally, is an enlightened motherhood which will have

the intellect to grasp the causes of immorality, and the mother-love and mother-courage to apply and inculcate the principles of individual and social purity with fearless fidelity.

Morality means the restraint and right direction of man's sensual and emotional nature. It is not an instinctive faculty. On the contrary, instinct is against it. It is the struggle between the soul and the body, and such a struggle can no more be expected to develop spontaneously into moral purity than an ear for music or a taste for poetry would be expected to lead to the production of a Paganini or a Tennyson.

It must be distinctly understood that this struggle is more terrible, more vital, more difficult than any mere struggle for physical existence upon the earth; that it is a fight between Saint George and the dragon, between Christian and Apollyon, between the angels of light and those of darkness, for the possession of the human soul. Poor little human soul! It is embarked upon life's troubled sea, like the flame in the lamps of paper floated out upon the Ganges by the Indian girls; it may be drowned by overwhelming waters, or may flare up in one wild spurt and destroy its frail vehicle.

The general heredity which the child shares with all the sons of men is the first handicap in the race, and the special heredity in the individual is the second, and may be the heavier weight. The education which does not recognize heredity — whether you call it original sin or tendencies — makes a mistake at the outset; the educational training of the young in morals and in purity must proceed largely upon the principle of derivation. In therapeutics this means to call off the too-abundant blood from one part of the body, where it is producing congestion and pain, and to carry it to some other spot, where its warmth is needed. To call attention to purity, to dwell upon impurity, will often direct the thought to the very evil we desire to avert, and this, I am sure, has been a common mistake when an

overzealous teacher or guardian has meddled too roughly with the delicate essence of modesty. But here again we are assisted by science, which lifts the subject out of the emotional realm, and puts it upon the calm basis of healthful normality; which clothes the facts of nature in clear-cut terms of purity. Again, from religion we derive the most efficacious prescription known yet upon the earth, and one which will stand the test of all time. It is "the expulsive power of a new affection"; it is the overcoming of evil with good. The angel comes, in answer to prayer, to strengthen even the little ones against evil thoughts and degrading desires, and helps to build up moral strength and renew spiritual vitality.

What should be the practical work of any society that hopes to bring us up to a higher ethical plane? Clearly there should be a recognition of and hearty coöperation with everything that tends to cleanliness, thrift, and cheerfulness in the homes of the poor and wretched, and with everything that will provide constant and agreeable occupation to childhood everywhere. We must also coöperate with every agency that will increase self-respect and honorable pride in the individual, and with every form of religious belief which will keep man in a right relation with his Creator and his fellow-man. And lastly, we must secure such legislation as will place men and women upon equal footing, and will maintain the reasonable independence of women in the business world.

Finally, every community is a composite of moral, social, civic, and economic forces. It is precisely what these forces make it.

The state must be educated to recognize its responsibility, from which it can never escape. We must be educated up to a recognition of the fact that the vicious and depraved in our midst have become such, in the main, through a false and pernicious order of things, too often founded and fostered in bad laws or due to the absence of good. In that sense and to that degree prostitution and crime are the cre-

ation and offspring of the state. Wise legislation, practical, large-hearted philanthropy, should everywhere provide asylums and retreats where the morally sick may become restored — may be quarantined, so to speak, for a time, and through loving sympathy, watchful care, and suitable occupation be gradually brought to a sense of self-respect and a desire to lead a new life.

The numerous moral reform and female guardian societies, midnight missions, and homes for the friendless, of our large cities, have done a noble work in rescuing myriads of women from the very mouth of the flaming pit. They have snatched them literally as brands from the burning, and enabled them to lead decent, respectable, and repentant lives. In the horrible dens from which many of these poor creatures have escaped, they have been kept, often for years, helpless, hopeless prisoners, robbed of their clothing and money, and obliged to drink with every loathsome patron of the place, thus sinking from vile depths to lower depths of infamy and shame, with no eye to pity, no hand to save. It takes time and useful occupation to recover from these lazar-house scenes and experiences, to restore the shattered nerves and moral tone.

Industrial farm-homes, where small-fruit and bee culture, or the raising of poultry or flowers, can be profitably followed by the beneficiaries, offer by far the best solution to this problem. Several States have already established such homes for fallen women, and blazed the way of reform for other communities to follow.

This great social ulcer — this cancer, eating into the vitals of every great city, and contaminating small towns and villages alike with its gangrenous touch — may thus be brought under the surgeon's knife and healthy sanitation.

The state cares for the destitute and the indigent sick; why should it not also care for its morally sick — the victims of a false social, civic, and industrial system — who, unless rescued and cared for by the state, will continue to drag down multitudes into a common ruin with themselves?

Philanthropy, religion, social science, and the state should unite in a supreme effort to rescue the perishing, provide for the weak, abolish vice, and elevate the moral tone of the entire community. To this task has the Society for the Promotion of Social Purity set its hands. Toward this goal — the elevation of the state and of humanity, through the rescue and elevation of woman and the purification of the home — are all the moral forces of the age pressing rapidly forward.

## The Highest Education — Address by Mrs. Charles Kendall Adams of Wisconsin.

During the past twenty years perhaps no one thing has more assuredly marked the onward progress of our time than the interest, assumed and real, in the higher education of women. All over our country schools and colleges have multiplied, where careful training and much wise teaching are accomplished. Universities have opened their doors — many of them only half way, it is true, but a few certainly swing the gates wide — and in all directions the path, once very thorny, has been made smooth and pleasant.

More than at any other period in the world's history woman stands side by side with brother, father, friend — quite man's peer in power to acquire, and if her acquirements be of the right sort, his peer in power to use them. Askance he looks at her, perhaps, oftentimes strangely misunderstanding her. However he may regard her, let us not forget that whenever she *proves* herself a power, he, let him be stranger or friend, is ever first to admit it, ever first to welcome and approve. Let us not cease to remember that much of the advance has been made with his aid, and in many cases on his shoulders.

The onward march of women in what we term the higher education is a fact of very deep and absorbing

interest, marking, we must believe, an epoch in the world's history, assuring for all of us the step onward, creating a gift for the future not to be measured in its worth, measureless in its possibilities. We can not regard it with too much gratitude, too high reverence, too deep an appreciation; we can not aid it, even in a small way, without securing blessing to ourselves, and the surer consciousness of inestimable blessing not only to those about us, but to the generations to follow us.

But it is not of this higher education, profitable as is the theme, that I desire to speak at this time and on this occasion. There is given to each of us, and especially is it given to women, to attain not only a higher, but the *highest* education. And here let me call attention to a possibility already made too evident, that in attempting to attain the former there is danger of losing sight of the latter. It is, in a word, too often made plain that in educating the head we have made too little account of the heart. This need not be the case, yet it happens too often, and it is needless to say that where this is the case it were better the woman had never entered the school-room. Add to the higher education the highest, and you do well; but get the highest at any cost. That, and that alone, is the only education that can be of real and permanent worth to women.

Dear friends, you and I know from whom alone this highest education can proceed; we know there is but one Teacher, one school-room, one text-book; and you will say just here, perhaps: "Why repeat this? It is but platitude. We hear it constantly. What can it serve here and now?" Let us follow a step farther and find the something that it does serve; and that is worthy our consideration in a very peculiar sense at the present time, a time when the education of woman has a deeper import than ever before.

And, first, let us ask ourselves the real value of any education to its possessor. Is it not in the development that it brings to its owners and to those about them? But is it not also in truer sense the fitness it gives for the work they are to do?

As the athlete trains for the victory he hopes to win, as the professional student spends his energy in daily toil for the place he aims to fill, so is there in the training of a woman a profounder reason, a more eloquent plea, for that which will give to her the implement that is to make her of worth in the place where God's own voice calls her, for so long as the world lasts and time endures the large majority of women must find their place in the home. It is here as daughter, wife, mother that she must confront the widest horizon of usefulness and endeavor. In the varied phases here awaiting her with their perplexities and anxieties, their satisfactions and joys, she is called to meet daily experiences that must test her ability to the utmost, and which only the highest education can at all satisfy. You will surely admit that here certainly her value to herself, to those nearest her, and through them to society at large depends far more upon the qualities of heart she brings to her work than upon any mere intellectual acquirement. She must inspire, charm, elevate in proportion as she is suffused with Christian grace and Christian spirit, far more than by "the knowledge which puffeth up and edifieth not."

Recall the long list of women who have blest the world and left to it a deathless legacy, who knew nothing of a college training. The greatest minds among women, intellectually considered, in this great century, knew nothing of it. Names might be multiplied, they will come to you by the score, that were never recorded on college registers. And while, if these women were living to-day, they would be the very ones who would at any sacrifice attain such training, yet women like these know very well that at its best it can not give to any woman all that life needs. And in this phase is danger to the young woman entering upon it; if she believes that it will give her all of life, she is shutting out the greatest light, without which any college training is idle.

I would not seem, even by the smallest hint, to disparage the education of the college — on the contrary, I would

make it possible for every woman to secure it — but I must also repeat, with emphatic utterance, that so long as human nature is what it is, so long as human society exists, in the right development of the woman the education of the heart must ever be of superlative consequence, of far greater consequence than the education of the head. Let a woman's intellect be inspired and controlled by her heart, and not only is her own soul fed, but she becomes the fountain of nourishment to the souls of others — yes, even to souls unborn. Let her intellect be stimulated at the expense of the heart, and she is like a tree bearing unfruitful bloom at the top and dead at its center.

## THE CATHOLIC WOMAN AS AN EDUCATOR — ADDRESS BY MARY A. B. MAHER.

The illustrious Bishop Spaulding says: "The great educational problem has been and now is how to give to the soul purity of intention, to the conscience steadfastness, to the mind force, pliability, and openness to light." In other words, how to bring philosophy and religion to the aid of the will, so that the better self shall prevail, and each generation introduce its successor to a higher plane of life. The value of culture is great, and the ideal it presents points in the right direction in bidding us build up the being which we are.

No finer, truer, better equipped agent could be found to send upon this mission than woman. Her inherent tender conscience makes religion a necessity, her philosophy of love her strongest argument, while her warm, large sympathy, her marvelous ingenuity, her ready tact make her quick to learn, speedy to devise, prompt to execute new plans or utilize the old in newer fields for the accomplishment of the greatest good. Her resources are hydra-headed; her courage dauntless. In whatever walk of life it be — religion, poetry, sculpture, painting, literature, science, or

the ruder treadmill of commercial ways — woman holds a front rank as inspirer, helper, instructor. History writes the names of no great men who have not had some female educator urging them.

"So long as there is any seriousness left," says Spaulding, "religion is man's first and deepest concern." What a potent argument to all men's creeds the pure living of the woman lends, while in material things as well how many mothers and how many sisters have labored to set the jewels in the tabernacle's door! God's priesthood, were they not educators and refiners? Would John Chrysostom have been "the golden mouthed" without his mother-educator? Left a widow in her twentieth year, she gave her life and labor for the culture of her boy. Augustine, too, was not indebted wholly to the "Hortensius" of Cicero for his searching after truth, nor to the pleadings of Saint Ambrose to renounce his sinful life. His sainted mother Monica's entreaties, supplementing his prayers, aroused his sluggish will at last, and through her brave, uplifting love her son was raised to the church's calendar of saints.

We owe the splendid "Genius of Christianity" to the mother of Chateaubriand. From her death-bed she sent a message begging him to return to the church he had abandoned. On receiving it "he wept and he believed," and proved his sincere atonement by consecrating to religion's defense all the talents he possessed.

Nano Nagle, the apostle of education in Ireland during the last decade of the eighteenth century, herself by stealth at first, and later by introducing the Ursulines, achieved wonders for education by the almost herculean feats she performed in the face of the law that made it felony for an Irish Catholic to teach, or even to learn.

The organized Sodalities of the church, with the societies of Saint Vincent de Paul, each in its peculiar mission, cast lessons of charity, patience, resignation, and purity of life broadcast upon the world. We have the reformatories and hospitals ministered to by the world-famed sisters of charity

and mercy, who, while deftly binding up the wounds of sin or accident, naïvely drop a seed of virtue and of faith by the wayside in the hearts of their charges. Who shall say woman is not an educator?

Having demonstrated that the Catholic woman is an educator by influence and inspiration, I come now to prove that she educates also by direct instruction. It is estimated there are nearly a million women teachers, properly called, in the world. There are the schools of church and state, schools for general learning and for technical branches, and schools for intellectual and physical culture. All have their complement of women educators.

The church asks a fullness of education that the state alone does not give, therefore we have sectarian schools, or "Nun's Schools." The Holy Church, as the spiritual mother, reaches out for the hearts of her children, maintaining that the moral is above the intellectual and that the heart must be trained by religious influence while the mind is being educated in the arts and sciences. Thus we have the parochial and the academic schools, for the elementary and the higher education, presided over by women who have consecrated their lives to the uplifting of the masses in mind and soul, filling the requirements of the church in the curriculum of their planning. Following in the footsteps of man's first educator, his mother, they are keen with the instinct of spiritualized maternal love, and imbued with a zeal for souls. Like their Divine Master they brighten and bless the world whose children they educate by example, by precept, and by conscientious training. Poverty of location, straitened means, and temporarily crippled powers they rise above grandly; and although, in places where the odds are strong against them, the cry is raised that they are "behind in intellectual culture," their schools were never known to lack in moral force and power. Without order there is chaos, without some standard there can be no weights and measures, without a knowledge of what is good there can be no accurate deductions of what

is bad; without naming virtue there can be no saving talisman against destroying vice, and so the negative or passive morality has no place in their curriculum; positive, active purity and integrity they teach and they exemplify. It would be well for those who cry so loudly at the backwardness of parochial schools to go themselves a little backward in their thoughts, and recall the poverty of resource, the lack of method characterizing all beginnings of state and statute; their fair-mindedness must then admit that it took the combined efforts of years, and generous funds and wide coöperation, to build up the system of public-school education of which they boast, and which they contrast with "Sisters' Schools" and "Nun's Schools" to the disadvantage of the latter.

## CHAPTER IV.—LITERATURE AND THE DRAMATIC ART.

INTRODUCTORY COMMENT BY THE EDITOR — COPIOUS EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES DELIVERED IN THE GENERAL CONGRESS BY ANNIE NATHAN MEYER, ALICE WELLINGTON ROLLINS, CHARLOTTE EMERSON BROWN, JOSEPHINE BATES, AND T. E. C., M. D.—EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE CONFERENCE CONGRESS ON LITERATURE AND ART BY MRS. VOLMAR OF UTAH — EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE AMERICAN PROTECTIVE SOCIETY OF AUTHORS, BY MRS. KATE BROWNLEE SHERWOOD — EDITORIAL COMMENT RELATIVE TO THE SESSION OF THE GENERAL CONGRESS DEVOTED TO CONSIDERING WOMAN'S RELATION TO DRAMATIC LITERATURE AND TO THE STAGE — TELEGRAM FROM MME. JANAUSCHEK — COPIOUS EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES DELIVERED IN THE GENERAL CONGRESS BY HELENA MODJESKA, CLARA MORRIS, GEORGIA CAYVAN, AND JULIA MARLOWE.

IN that portion of the following chapter which is devoted to literature the object has been to present the selections in such order that the philosophical consideration of woman's probable contribution to the literary product of the world shall be sustained by a brief historical summary of her actual contribution.

Up to within a very recent period woman's influence upon literature has been that of the consumer rather than that of the producer. Perhaps even yet this is true. Any comprehensive treatment of woman as a factor in literature would show how the subject-matter and the literary method of men have been modified, since women were allowed to learn the alphabet, by the natural consequences of that innovation.

The literary influence of woman as a reader has been augmented immeasurably by the multiplication of clubs. In these organizations a greater part of the work done assumes the form of criticism and analysis, and tends directly to the

development of a critical, analytical literature. Hence the discussion of organization in its relation to literary culture finds its proper place in this chapter rather than in that which treats of organization.

In the full report of this congress to be published by the United States Government, the chapters devoted to literature will contain a report of woman's literary work in every country where she has yet borne any share in such labor. It has seemed wise to present in this chapter the report furnished by Poland, inasmuch as the literature of Poland is less widely known than that of most countries, and conditions in Poland for the last two centuries have been quite the reverse of those that are generally considered favorable to literary activity, if not, indeed, indispensable to it. This report has, therefore, a more than national value; revealing fertility where, in the absence of knowledge, barrenness has been presupposed, it will suggest the probability of a corresponding literary activity among the women of other countries with whose language and literature we are unfamiliar.

For similar reasons portions of the paper read in the conference congress, presenting the literary and artistic work of the women of Utah, are given here. The delegate of the Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association understates the potency of that society as an agent of refinement and culture. With its headquarters in Salt Lake City, it has a membership exceeding twenty thousand young women, scattered over eleven of the Western States and Territories. Each of the local circles included in its membership has been a distributing center for books and magazines in communities having few literary supplies. These local circles have served the compound purpose of circulating libraries, magazine clubs, literary clubs, and mutual benefit societies. Perhaps unintentionally, and to many of its members unconsciously but not the less effectively, the association has been an ally of the Government, a support to virtue and an inculcator of faith in the ideal. No other agency has wrought to better purpose in ameliorating the

peculiarly hard conditions of pioneer life in Utah and adjacent Territories.

Most of the papers relating to literature are presented in relative entirety. From the address of Mrs. Bates are omitted the introductory pages, which treat of the organization of the universe of matter; from that entitled "Polish Women in Literature" the catalogue of authors, with some biographical details, has been excised.— [THE EDITOR.]

## WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE REPUBLIC OF LETTERS — ADDRESS BY ANNIE NATHAN MEYER OF NEW YORK.

Women are writing a great deal to-day, and are doing some very good work. They are doing so much that it would be absurd to attempt to treat this subject fully. I shall merely, therefore, look at certain phases of the subject. I am interested particularly in the question: Has woman something specific, something *sui generis*, to contribute to literature? One of our women writers tells us: "Once let woman wield the pen, and thoughts will be put into books that have never been put there before, or at least some of the old things will be told from a side never before dreamed of." If on looking over the work that is being done by women to-day this were found to be true, I should have the material at hand for a very suggestive and original paper.

Much as I should be interested in believing that woman, with the pen in her hand, has turned a new page of life before us, candor compels me to admit that if there is such a thing as sex in literature I have not succeeded in discovering it. I look about me and observe that the very subjects upon which one would naturally expect women to throw a new light have really inspired the masterpieces of the men. No woman burning with sense of wrong could have painted the injustice of the social code of morals more forcibly, more tragically than Thomas Hardy did in his

Mrs. Wm. D. Cabell.

Miss N. Cropsey.

Dr. Jennie de la M. Lozier.

Frances Stewart Mosher.

Sara Louisa Vickers Oberholtzer.

"Tess of the D'Urbervilles"; no woman eager to reconstruct and ennoble our ideal of marital obligation could have held up its pitiable sham and conventionality with more inspired pen than was wielded by Henrik Ibsen in his "Ghosts" and "Doll-house."

I have heard of various recipes for discovering the sex of an author, but have seen them all go down ingloriously before the simple strategy of the *nom de plume*.

It was generally conceded that no one but a man could have painted the rugged solemnity of the Tennessee mountains and the primitive poetry of the lives of the mountaineers as Charles Egbert Craddock did. At least it was conceded before Mary Murfree modestly appeared before the startled eyes of the editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*.

When we turn to those that would theorize about woman's place in the republic of letters, what ideas do we find current? First, and I think this reasoning is not entirely unfamiliar to you, we hear them say: "Woman is the heart and man the mind — woman stands for the emotions and man for the intellect; therefore we should find that women may write charming love stories, but that it will be impossible for them to attain any intellectual grasp — impossible for them to probe down into the deeper problems of life."

Outside the domains of theory we find as an actual fact the men critics showering anathemas at the authors of "Robert Elsmere" and "John Ward, Preacher," for bringing into the domain of a novel serious problems and non-emotional material, that properly belong rather to the domain of philosophy or theology.

Then, of course, we are told that women lack the broad sympathy that is so necessary to the novelist of to-day. As Mrs. Browning's Romney tells Aurora: "Women are sympathetic to the personal pangs, but hard to general suffering." And yet think of the exquisitely tender delineation of the forbidding New England old maid by Mary E. Wilkins, and those two great stories that immortalized the wrongs of two great races, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and

"Ramona." Then we are told that it is easy for women to write up fashionable society, or the village sewing-circles, but that in the very nature of things women are limited in their scope; that it is impossible for them to depict the rough, primitive life of the fields and the mines; and yet right here in America we have Mary Halleck Foote, Octave Thanet, and Miss Elliot, the author of "Jerry," and many others, who seem to have gone straight down to the soil for inspiration. Then, of course, it is said that women have not had what are called "experiences." How can a woman in her sheltered innocence know anything of certain phases of life? Or, even if she possesses sufficient imagination, how will she treat life? Surely, she can only give us what some one has called "the moral harshness of copy-book maxims." And yet think of the passion and fire with which Mrs. Humphrey Ward has given us the Parisian episode in the life of David Grieve, and Elizabeth Stuart Phelps' tender treatment of the same theme in her pitiful story "Hedged In." I am sure no one has dealt with the character of a guilty woman more exquisitely, more tactfully, more sympathetically, and yet with more powerful irony and pathos, than Mrs. W. K. Clifford dealt with her Mrs. North in her story "Aunt Ann," while her Mrs. Walter Hibbert is a capital hit at the timid attitude of the average "good woman."

I heard the other day that Mr. Brander Matthews so keenly misses the sense of humor in women that he has resolved the next time he marries to marry a man. Now, I am not going to get angry about it — it hits Mrs. Matthews so much harder than it hits me — nor am I going to assist Mr. Matthews to prove his cause by taking his thrust too seriously, but I can not resist just a reference to the delightful quality of the humor of Agnes Repplier, Mary E. Wilkins, Sarah Orne Jewett, Mrs. W. K. Clifford, and Mrs. Craigie, who is generally known by her pen name of John Oliver Hobbes. The humor of the last is so subtle, so whimsical, and so utterly pervasive that I have a suspicion

in my mind that Mr. Matthews, in his ignorance of the *nom de plume*, was thinking of taking a certain Mr. John Oliver Hobbes as that second wife.

Let me here say something in connection with that terrible tirade that was launched forth by a certain Molly Elliott Seawell, a writer herself of novels of no common order. She said: "If all that women have ever done in literature were swept out of existence the world would not lose a single masterpiece." I was amused the other day by a lady's remark that it was our own president, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, who was the author of this attack. "Do you think," I said, when I had recovered from laughter sufficiently to speak, "that the president of the National Council of Women could say such things without suffering impeachment?"

I am not discouraged by such remarks, although I think it absurd to say that women have produced no masterpieces; yet I am perfectly willing to admit that they have produced no genius of the very highest rank — the rank of Dante, and Shakespeare, and Milton, and Goethe. But do you know the same thing precisely has been said of American literature? Is it not interesting that they say both of American literature and of woman's literature, if I may coin the phrase, that they have produced some clever and delightful writers, but no genius of the very highest rank? Mr. James Bryce has a good deal to say of this in his work on America, and he puts a good deal of the onus on the shoulders of our hurried, interrupted, unrestful life; but he thinks that America in time will settle down to create the highest kind of literature. That time will come when America (and the same thing is true of woman) shall no longer feel the necessity of proving her right to be.

I am cheered by the words of Emerson:

> The scholar of the first age received into him the world around, brooded thereon, and uttered it again. * * * It came into him life; it went out from him truth and poetry.

Well, woman is still in her first age. She is slowly awakening from a long sleep, and is just beginning to look about her and see the world around. She is still brooding thereon. I am sure the time is not far distant when she shall translate life into forms of perfect truth and poetry.

WOMAN IN THE REPUBLIC OF LETTERS — ADDRESS BY ALICE WELLINGTON ROLLINS OF NEW YORK. READ BY MARY LOWE DICKINSON.

The place of woman anywhere has rightly been called a sphere. You can not escape from her. The farther you walk away from her, the nearer you are to meeting her on the other side. Leave her side, she will confront you in the first novel you take up to divert your mind from her.

There can be no intellectual republic where women are concerned; they are always tyrants. Yet those who have been most tyrannical over the passions, the emotions, the love, the thoughts of men have not been stabbed in literature by their victims, but immortalized. Is it not curious that while Cæsar has a Brutus, Charles I. a Cromwell, and George III. a Washington, Laura should have a Petrarch, Beatrice a Dante, and Shakespeare's *inconnue* his magnificent sonnets?

"Know thyself;" it is a great and wise command; but do not hope to know yourself by looking into your own heart. Some one must look for you; nay, not for you, because an outsider, however clear-sighted, is liable to mistakes, but with you, that the point of view may be neither his nor yours alone. Columbus did more than discover America to Spain; he discovered her to herself. She would never have known what she was, what she was capable of, had she not come in contact with the resources of the Old World. Equally in literature, woman has never shown that she understands herself; she has never attempted to analyze her own nature. Some Columbus has always done that for

her; always revealed her not only to the world but to herself.

Homer rose in reverence as she passed, humbled by the sense of her power even when she used it willfully; Petrarch exalted her, Dante adored her, Shakespeare loved her; Henry James studies her, Maupassant thought her wicked but interesting, Tennyson tolerated her; Thackeray graciously refused to look beneath the surface of her gentle little heart when it seemed to be gentle; Scott heroined her, Wordsworth commended her, Byron hated her; Hawthorne admired her, Crawford pities her, Howells photographs her; Goethe was sorry for her, Punch caricatures her; Burns smiled at her, Moore succumbed to her, Dickens laughed at her, Heine married her at last; Tolstoi plants her in sunshine and waters her with his tears, only to tear her up by the roots in the end; Victor Hugo idealized her, Bourget dissects her; Balzac understood her; but in literature as in life no man has ever ignored her, and in literature as in life I seek in vain for any man whose opinion of her could be characterized by saying simply that he "liked her." There are no Platonic friendships in books, as there are none but dangerous ones in life.

Oddly enough, woman has never tried to exalt, or excuse, or wonder at, or caricature, or hate, or photograph, or study, or dissect herself. Even when she tries to paint an ideal woman she fails lamentably; her Romolas, and Dinahs, and Dorotheas are horribly cold, and fall infinitely below the incomparable pictures men have drawn of idealized or idolized women. She excels in philanthropic theories, when she cares to espouse the cause of an "Uncle Tom;" she writes graceful verses, charming letters, beautiful descriptions, admirable essays, very clever criticism; but when it comes to novel-writing we find a curious psychological problem — as men have understood women better than women understand themselves, so women have understood men, not better than men understand themselves, but better than women understand women. Charlotte Brontë

is not half so clever in trying to make us admire her poor and homely Jane as in winning our interest, without trying to, for Rochester; George Eliot's large, calm, generous portrait of the beautiful Romola pales before her minute drawing of the degenerate Tito. This is less in quantity than the success of men in delineating women, because woman has not been permitted until lately to know one-tenth part as much of the masculine mind as men know of the feminine heart. But, that their power of observing and understanding men is constantly increasing, that they will eventually excel in drawing men as men excel in drawing women, is shown by the marvelous cleverness of many recent novels, notably those of Mrs. Clifford and the lady who calls herself John Oliver Hobbes.

True, the method will probably always differ; the man dissects, the woman evolves. Tolstoi takes Anna Karénina at her zenith and traces her degradation; George Eliot takes Tito as a seedling and develops him in baleful atmosphere, until the crisis is his fall; Thackeray takes Becky Sharp at her best and lets her degenerate; Charlotte Brontë takes Rochester at his worst and permits him to improve.

And what is the comparative result? The man's portraiture of woman is finer than the woman's portraiture of man. An artist said recently of the scenery in Alaska and Norway: "You like Norway best, because there you sail *into* the scenery, while in Alaska you only sail *along* it." So we may say that men have sailed into women's hearts from time immemorial, while women have only sailed along men's minds, on the very outermost edge. Yet assuredly the time will come when, understanding each other better, they will not like each other less; and woman's place in literature may yet come to be that of a superlatively correct observer of the folly, the chivalry, the weakness, the nobleness of men, as man's place has so long been that of the cleverest, most subtle, most keen, most generous observer of the woman herself.

ORGANIZATION AS A MEANS OF LITERARY CULTURE — ADDRESS BY CHARLOTTE EMERSON BROWN OF NEW JERSEY. READ BY JULIA PAULINE LEAVENS.

The title that has been assigned me brings two things that appear to be widely separated into close and dependent relationship.

We have two questions to answer: "What does literary culture involve and signify?" and, "What relation does it sustain to organization?"

Exact definition, where definition is possible, is always valuable; but there are some things too delicate, too intangible, too ethereal to be expressed in formal words. Who can define the fragrance of a rose, the sentiment of a national flag, the charm and power of music, or of a great painting like Millet's Angelus? Such things bring a depth of meaning to our souls that we can not define, and that no language except that of the heart can express.

This is true in part of what we call literary culture. Here definition does not define, and yet analysis may approach definition. What is literary culture? It involves several elements. It implies familiarity with literature, or at least with some of its general departments. In our day, when books are multiplied as the forest leaves, no one person can read all that has literary merit. Selections must be made, otherwise a superabundance of reading will lead to superficiality of knowledge. One may cultivate literature in poetry, another in fiction, another in history, another in criticism, another in language, and so on to the end, but every person of literary culture must be a student of literature. Nor will hurried reading answer the purpose. Works of literary merit must have thoughtful, discriminating, critical study. Those who read books as swallows skim the air are inviting literary dissipation rather than culture; and there are too many readers of this class.

Mental discipline and the full control of one's own powers constitute very largely all true culture. The

greatest difficulty with uncultured people is that they do not know themselves, and can not control and properly use the powers that God has given them.

In addition to all this, literary culture is something that one person feels, or does not feel, in another or in one's self. It is what we call taste, a sense of the beautiful, and of what may be called a feeling of natural fitness and of proper adaptation to occasions. We meet these qualities in some persons and not in others. The difference between them is that one has, in some of its forms, literary and artistic culture which the other lacks.

I concede that all this comes short of strict definition, but it fully suggests what is meant by literary culture. Of its desirability and value to the possessor I have only space to observe in passing that it is worth all it costs, and it costs prolonged study. Think of what it did for Mrs. Browning, Mrs. Stowe, and for hundreds more whom it has raised from the common places in life to positions of eminence and great usefulness.

How is literary culture connected with that kind of intellectual machinery known as organization?

It is not difficult for us to understand the connection that exists between the human body and the soul that inhabits it, between books and the thought that is in them, between musical compositions and instruments and music itself as rendered by a musician.

Organization itself appears to hold a corresponding relationship to literary culture; it has come to be one of the potent agencies in Christian civilization. Barbarism may, in great measure, dispense with it; civilization can not, any more than it can dispense with the steam engine, the telephone, the electric motor, or the printing press, all of which are the allies and promoters of literary culture. This world in miniature collected in the "White City," and known as the Columbian Exhibition, would not have been possible but for the splendid organization that has brought out almost superhuman results. Organization has come to be

the Archimedes screw that moves the world. Books and schools, so necessary to literary culture and good scholarship, are the result of organized endeavor. What would our Yale and Harvard be, or England's Oxford and Cambridge, or Chicago University but for the splendid organizations, mental and physical, that constitute their broad and deep foundations?

It can not be affirmed that all organizations, taken indiscriminately, promote literary culture. There are organizations of evil intent that destroy culture, and cultivate only coarseness and crime. Lotteries, race-tracks, and every form of organized iniquity are the mortal foes of every kind of culture except culture in vice, public and private.

Other forms of organization that are useful and necessary are not directly, even if remotely, connected with literary culture as causative forces. An army, as the world now is, appears to be necessary, but it can hardly be regarded as a school of ethical or of literary culture. The same may be said of some business organizations that minister to human selfishness rather than to good culture and the general weal. Nations are a great necessity, but their influence in behalf of culture is sometimes marred by schemes of gigantic selfishness.

On the other hand, many of our existing institutions are organized for high and noble purposes. They must, therefore, favor literary culture, at least indirectly, since all real interests are so connected and interdependent that what helps one tends to improve all. I have learned to look upon all of our humanitarian and reformatory organizations as schools of intellectual and literary culture, and it is quite possible that some of them may be doing more for the world in these indirect ways than they are on behalf of the objects for which they were founded. It would be delightful, if time allowed, to take up a large number of organizations that are working directly toward woman's literary improvement just as naturally as great harbors, broad rivers, and the wide ocean lead to the building of cities

along their shores, and observe how they all promote culture in one form or another. Among these should be enumerated schools and colleges for girls, university extension, Chautauqua study circles, the Association for the Advancement of Women, and other kindred agencies, all doing much for woman's education and literary culture. Each would serve well to illustrate my theme. But there is one organization, with which I happen to be closely connected, and of which I have personal knowledge, that I beg leave to emphasize as bearing directly on our subject. The Woman's Literary Club movement is comparatively new, and needs to be better understood by the general public. I regard it as at least one of the greatest marvels of the last half of the nineteenth century, and as one of the grandest agencies for the social, ethical, and literary culture of women in middle life that has ever been organized.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs was formed three years ago, with fifty-one corporate members. It has now in its membership 280 clubs, in thirty-three States and two foreign lands, having a combined membership of 40,000 women. Its object is social, ethical, and literary culture. Each club pursues its own chosen line of study and work. Some give prominence to culture in one direction, and some in another; all are in eager pursuit of knowledge, improvement, and larger usefulness. As one member stimulates all others in the local club, so each club helps to raise the tide of interest in the general body. It is surprising how women of natural talent, who before were unknown alike to themselves and their friends, are coming to the front. The Federation includes in its membership a very large proportion of the distinguished women of the land, and has come to be the source from which to seek earnest, cultured workers for the carrying forward of great undertakings. When the Columbian Exposition needs a president for its Woman's Department, and a vice-president for its Woman's Branch of the Congress Auxiliary, it finds them in women's literary clubs. Every member of the

committee for arranging and conducting the Congress of Representative Women belongs to some federated club. This is true of most of the American speakers who are appearing on the platform, and of most of the committees arranging for woman's part in the mixed congresses of men and women yet to be held.

Every great organization must be dominated by some leading idea, while yet it may be thoughtful of collateral interests. While culture is the watchword of the federated clubs, yet culture is sought only as a means of greater usefulness in all the widening activities of woman's life, in her own home and beyond.

This great organization of women, acting in conjunction with many others, is utilizing literary scholarship and preparing a great host of workers along many lines for the hastening of the glad day —

> "When the war drums throb no longer,
> And the battle-flags are furled
> In the parliament of men,
> The federation of the world."

## Address by Josephine Bates of Illinois.

The world in her advance owes much to her conquerors; but her poets, her writers have marched ever before the race bearing aloft the ark that was the Eternal's covenant; for to them has been given the guardianship of the ideal, that faith in all things high which bears the people upward on its wings. Alone in the darkness must they wrestle with that Angel of the Promise whose face they might not see, but those who thereafter heard their burning speech knew that at the dawn they conquered, and the hand was laid in blessing on their heads.

The words that Moses spake from sacred Sinai have echoed down all the listening centuries. The song of Solomon is still love's sublimest lyric; Sappho's odes yet clasp the immortal soul of hope. Shakespeare is forever the

voice of tragedy, and Christ the growing ransom of a world.

Literature is the champion of principles, those spiritual forces that are to work out the perfecting of the race; and alas for the land whose din of strife drowns the still, small voice of the dreamer! In a nation's songs sleep potencies its laws shall never waken: in epic verse lives history to quicken the heart of youth; the nation's hymns shall guard its hopes, and its martial strains be as trumpet tones at whose call men dare and die. Poetry and art are the golden links that span all times and spaces. In science, in religion, in philosophy we are sundered forever by the arch of two thousand years, but the tears of Andromache fall hot on our hearts to-day, as the marble of Phidias holds us raptured, still and mute. The poet and the artist survive the ruins of empires, for their work is wrought of the imperishable, the spirit of beauty and of truth.

Through the long medieval darkness inspiration still lived and lofty minds still organized to guard the sacred heritage of the ages. In library and in cell, Alexandrian, Arabian, and Moor threw their soul's illumination round the texts their patient hands had rescued from the night.

In ancient times men organized in war to work out freedom for the few; to-day men are organized in peace to work out freedom for all. Ancient forces had as their goal the state; for the state, conquest; as their end the individual; for the individual, development. Our age was born in Gutenberg; literature had found at last the instrument to its need. With daring hand the printing-press seized the treasures of thought that were its legacy, and scattered them broadcast; and the slumbering masses woke, hurled off tyrannies, and stood supreme, voicing in "we, the people," the mightiest victory of time.

To-day in free speech, free press, free church, free school we signal the triumph of growth. Railroad and telegraph, steamer and cable are clasping the globe with their strong hands of fellowship, and are organizing all mankind to higher ends.

At the feet of literature has sat through the ages its lowly handmaiden, woman. Rarely in the past has her untutored thought found hardihood for utterance, but in her life she lived the dreams her dumb lips might not speak. In every country and in every age man has symboled his highest in her image; she has been ever the guardian of social honor, the anchor of religious faith, the embodiment of conscience and of love. Humbly she has walked, a gentle guide beckoning unto purity, to righteousness, to completeness.

Literature in this great day of its triumph has at last led to her throne the living emblem of its principles. The silence of the centuries is broken. With the deathless voice of the seer woman speaks to-day, calling all to the heights on which her gaze is set. She has been the censor of society, the bulwark of the church, the genius of the home; now shall she be the lode-star of the nation. Ever before it shall she hold this beacon of its ideal; ever shall she lead it to the character development wherein alone it shall survive.

The past is gone forever. No more in a civilized land shall the helpless be the outcast of justice. The lowliest shall sit in the sacred protection of law, behind which towers the adamant wall of public sentiment. From greatest to least our ethics are linking men together — one in their common needs, one in their common rights, and one in their common duty. In waves of advance and recession still onward has swept the tide, and we of to-day are the latest come, through whom shall surge the higher wave of to-morrow.

Flesh shall fail, but the growing soul by the force of the universe must toil and mount. By the rugged way of struggle through circuits of organized strength shall our kind rise to issue larger than our dreams, and goals beyond the summit of our hopes. Motion has brought light, light has brought love, and love shall set the tone of gladness for a pæan of brotherhood in the morning.

## Extracts from an Address on The Polish Woman in Literature — Prepared by T. E. C., M. D.

Active, intelligent, interested in all public matters, the Polish woman has obtained a prominent position in literature. As far back as the sixteenth century her first step toward literary pursuits can be traced, when Sophia Olesnicka composed a poem or hymn thanking God for the revelation of faith to the little ones. In the eighteenth century Elizabeth Druzbacka gained renown as a poetess of ability.

When Poland lost her independence, and it became evident that only the language remained as a testimonial of the existence of the Polish race — when every intelligent person saw the necessity of writing and publishing Polish works irrespective of talent, as long as these writings testified to the existence of the nation — the Polish woman also took up the pen. Among others Princess Isabel Czartoryski distinguished herself on the field of literature through writing "The History of Poland." She also wrote rural sketches, and a work entitled "Ogrody Nasze; Our Gardens," treating of the cultivation of gardens and the beautifying of rural mansions. Her daughter, Princess of Wurtemberg, was the author of a famous Polish novel, "Malvina; or the Instinct of the Heart." "Malvina" was translated into French. Countess Mostowska, of the house of Radziwill, also gained renown as a novel-writer.

From that time on the Polish woman continued to labor in the field of literature and art. Elizabeth Jaraczewska wrote a book picturing beautifully and truly the life of the nation, and her "Evening in Advent" and "Sophia and Emily" won in the third decade of this century a universal approval.

About the same time Lucya Rautenstrauch, of the princely house of Gedroyc, entered the literary field. She did not possess the talent of Jaraczewska, but being witty and observing her writings were very original, treating mostly of travels through Poland and foreign countries,

with sketches of noted personages. Her works, "Mountains, Cities, and Valleys," "In the Alps and Beyond the Alps," were published in the fourth and fifth decades of this century. But the strongest influence upon woman's mental development was effected through the systematic efforts of Clementine Hoffman, of the house of Tanski, who introduced a new era of healthy ideas and national educational work. Many have surpassed Mme. Hoffman in loftiness of style, many in the number of their works, but no one has exercised a greater influence. Her work for the community had a sound and carefully laid foundation, and was productive of many useful reforms. She was the first to teach the love of the mother tongue and the abandonment of the French, which at that time was in almost universal use. She studied carefully the literary works of the golden Sigismund era, gaining thereby a rich and expressive style, and her first efforts were to teach young mothers how to educate their children. She gave the initiative to Polish juvenile literature, writing excellent juvenile books and publishing *The Children's Pastime*, a periodical treating of the history of Poland, of prominent figures in literature, and of the old customs and home writers of the country.

The reforms introduced by Mme. Hoffman in the education of woman, although insufficient at the present day, were of great importance seventy years ago, and far outstripped the mental evolution then reached by other nations; and the influence they exercised upon our grandmothers has opened to us the way to progress. She placed education upon a national foundation, demanding that the children first learn the history and language of their country, and that the young women be prepared for the family duties. She was the first one to point out to woman a life outside of the family or the convent. In her best work, "Christine," the heroine is an old maid, plain and modest, who, having been disappointed in love, did not despair, but made herself useful to all who surrounded her, and found peace and finally happiness in performing her

domestic duties. She clearly defined woman's duties and education, and placed woman on a lofty pedestal, from which she shone as well during the political existence of Poland as after her downfall. Clementine Hoffman closed her useful life in exile in Paris, in 1845, in her fiftieth year.

Mme. Hoffman found a worthy successor in Narcyza Zmichowska. World-renowned authors like Mickiewicz, Slowacki, Krasinski had raised Polish literature to the zenith of prominence, and Zmichowska had to keep pace with its gigantic progress. After the struggles and misfortunes of the insurrection of 1831 the country was thrown into lethargy. The young generation, raised upon the ruins of Poland's hopes, bathed in blood and tears, did not inherit the activity of their ancestors. The country gradually regained her prosperity, but did not regain her mental vigor, which was lost in the mines of Siberia or in exile. Every literary effort within her boundaries was suppressed.

Under these unfavorable circumstances Narcyza Zmichowska entered the literary field, in both prose and poetry. The influence exercised by her writings was productive of the greatest good, and the condition of the Polish peasant was thereby ameliorated greatly.

## Extracts from the Address of Mrs. Volmar of Utah, in the Conference Congress on Literature.

In order that a correct estimate may be formed in regard to the facts which are to be presented, let me first remind you that although nearly half a century has passed since the pioneers first entered the valleys of Utah, during many of those years the people were almost entirely excluded from the advantages possessed by the great world outside. Had not the roots of a strong, pure love for that which forms the beautiful in our lives been implanted in hearts determined to protect and foster them under all conditions, they must certainly have been crushed and blighted beyond

restoration by the stern hardships endured by our pioneers. Is there aught, think you, to delight an artist's eye or furnish a theme for the poet's muse in a dreary expanse of sage-brush? Is there aught in the plaintive cry of hungry children that would cause the mother's heartstrings to vibrate with music's melodies? Few, indeed, were the hours in those days that could in any degree be devoted to the cultivation of the mind; but there are souls pure enough to soar to higher planes, and great enough to contemplate the grand in nature, even while they are performing life's homeliest duties, and to this favored class belonged Utah's early settlers. Eager to grasp and utilize opportunities whenever presented, and no less eager to create when there were none to be presented, active brains were busy devising means whereby to elevate and encourage others, and the consummation of this worthy object was realized by establishing the *Woman's Exponent*. The type of the journal is set by woman's nimble fingers, the contents of its pages are the fruit of her fertile brain, and a woman occupies its editorial chair.

Speaking of our sisters who have known no other home than Utah, we think there is indeed just cause for pride at the deep interest manifested in the development of the higher arts. But few of our girls have received any training aside from that which is obtainable in our own Territory, yet we have many vocalists and pianists who can no longer be classed as amateurs, but have gained enviable reputations. In painting and designing we have perhaps but few who, if compared with those who have made art a life study, would be termed artists, but we have many who, considering their meager advantages, do excellent work in floral and landscape painting, china decorating, portrait coloring, and in designing and executing artistic needlework.

The object of these efforts is not so much pecuniary gain as a real love for the work, and an inclination to adorn and beautify the home. The latter tendency is beautifully

illustrated among the girls who live in the more remote parts of our Territory, where pioneer conditions still continue to some extent. This desire to make home attractive, if it be only with clusters of varnished pine-cones, a bunch of cat-tails from the marshes, and tall grasses from the meadows, is apparent in the humblest homes.

The two pioneer high schools of our Territory, the University of Utah and the Brigham Young Academy, as also many others of later times, have done much, indeed, to raise the standard of our literature. Next to the schools in importance, so far as a literary education is concerned, and even larger in numbers, is our Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association, which we are here to represent.

What the *Exponent* is to the women, the *Young Woman's Journal* is to the girls. Edited by a woman Utah-born, it is indeed a representative journal, and in it may be found a class of literature which mothers may well place in the hands of their daughters.

## INSURANCE AGAINST PIRACY OF BRAINS—ADDRESS BY KATE BROWNLEE SHERWOOD.

More and more are authors finding out that, in order to bring about legal recognition of the fact that brain materialized in books is property, they must band together to secure that recognition.

When one writes a book, or contributes to a newspaper or periodical, his brain-product should be recognized as property, whether it bears the stamp of a government copyright or not. As it is now, he is poached upon by every conscienceless purveyor who would get brain-wares without compensation to the owner.

When a farmer goes to market with a load of cabbages he has a legal right in his particular product. Whoever steals a cabbage is amenable to law. The farmer may call to his aid the servants of the law, arrest and punish the

depredator, and collect the price of his product. When an author writes a book, or prepares an article, which has cost much labor and research, and takes his product to market, he is without any adequate protection from the pilfering hordes of publishers and syndicates.

Our laws, national and international, are so framed as to protect the rights of property in material things. Lands, houses, manufactured goods, things that you can touch, see, and feel, these are the things over which the law keeps sacred trust. What cares the law for a story, or a song, or the bread that comes down from heaven?

The poorest paid, the most defenseless, often the most dejected of his race is the man whose name is emblazoned on books, or heralded through public prints. He may sow, but others reap; he may think, but others revel in the profits thereof.

Patentees are protected against infringement, but who protects the author from infringement upon his thoughts? His works are stolen bodily, or are abstracted in part; or they are condensed, made over, and sold as original products.

A copyright on books or articles for the public press affords little protection to the author. Virtually there is no protection, since to defend his rights from encroachment an author must employ attorneys and conduct an expensive suit.

The lack of an international copyright makes the situation of the author worse, as the robbers of foreign authors, by putting the stolen products of famous pens on the market, rob at the same time the unprotected American writers at home.

The first American sales of "Robert Elsmere" amounted to 200,000 copies, and under proper protective laws the profit to the author, through the usual 10 per cent royalty on the sales, would have reached $20,000. What the author, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, really received was $500. The dealers in stolen goods realized $19,500 on filchings alone.

There is not one American author who would impose

restrictions to keep out the works of foreign writers. Let their books come over, but let the authors have their profits. We want our Brownings, our Blackmores, our Mrs. Wards, and our Jean Ingelows; but we want them to receive the rewards of their labors. We do not want their unpaid labors used to lower the prices and profits of brain-work in our home market. No adequate legislation will ever be enacted on behalf of our underpaid authors and writers until they, themselves, are fully aware of the disadvantages under which they suffer, and band themselves together to define, establish, and maintain their rights.

Not only should they unite and organize, but they should educate. They should take the reading public into their confidence. They should appeal to the sturdy sense of fair play, which is the underlying motive-power of our race and nation, and ask the coöperation of the reading masses in their righteous crusade. They should ask their aid in securing such legislative enactments as would, by regular process of law, protect an author in his right to the products of his brain. In order to give this aid, the reading public must first learn of the wrongs under which authors and writers now suffer. When this lesson is learned, the purchasers of books and periodicals will no more think of filling up libraries and reading-rooms, public and private, with filched literature than they would of stocking up their medicine-shelves with stolen remedies and prescriptions.

There should be a general law whereby a writer should receive a percentage or royalty upon whatever is published over his name, and upon whatever is written by him, whenever published, copied, or rehashed for public purposes.

As it is now, an author gets a nominal sum for his books from his publisher, while his sole future consideration is the proud satisfaction of having his work torn up piecemeal and devoured by the public in tidbits, without any pecuniary returns to himself.

The magazine and newspaper contributors fare even

worse, and all they print is the common property or prey of the public press.

Civilization is justice reduced to a system. In our present dealing with authors we are but half civilized. Sad-hearted and discouraged, many geniuses are passing through life unappreciated, unpaid, and unknown. When they are gone epitaphs will be written, and their bones will be laid in hallowed places.

Authorship is not yet a calling; it is an episode. Its products have no place among merchantable wares. It has no place in the organized activities of our country.

## Woman and the Drama — Introductory Note.

Probably no other session of the congress was anticipated with such vivid and universal interest as that in which a galaxy of stars were to discuss woman and the drama.

When the chairman of the committee suggested the above topic to her co-workers, a doubt concerning the willingness of great artists to participate in the congress was mingled with universal approval of the subject and of the effort to secure its presentation by distinguished actresses.

All of the distinguished women invited, however, expressed in response the most cordial interest in the congress and its objects; and while the professional engagements of some of those solicited rendered acceptance impossible, the reception of the invitations dispelled every fear of indifference or antagonism, and finally six of the number invited consented to take part. The committee had desired, so far as possible, to secure the representatives of different nationalities and of differing degrees of professional experience, as well as of different schools of acting, in the proposed programme, as follows:

Mme. Janauschek, Bohemian; Mme. Modjeska, Polish; Clara Morris, American; Mlle. Rhéa, French; Georgia Cayvan, American; Julia Marlowe, English. While only four

appeared, the absence of Mme. Janauschek and Mlle. Rhéa was due to no fault of theirs, but to unfortunate circumstances beyond their control. Public acknowledgment is due those who appeared for the sacrifice involved in their generous contributions to the congress. Mme. Modjeska terminated her season one week earlier than she had planned to do, and gave much of that week to the sessions of the congress. Clara Morris made the journey across half a continent to keep her pledge to the committee, and Georgia Cayvan, then playing an engagement in St. Louis, obtained a release for the two nights consumed by the journey to Chicago and return; while Julia Marlowe postponed her trip to Europe by a week.

The participation of these women in the congress marked, and indeed made, an epoch in the progressive movement for the promotion of human interests through the advancement of women. Formerly artists and reformers had held aloof from each other. This was not unnatural, since an artist's development is individual and her career is, in a certain sense, isolation; while reformers, working from impersonal motives for purposes outside of themselves, naturally seek strength for a cause through the organization of its supporters.

The grave dignity with which each of the speakers set forth the claims of dramatic art as a censor of social life, an inculcator of ethical principles, a critic of current standards, and an inspirer of devotion to the ideal was an unintended but noble and sufficient rebuke to that class of people who have assumed that the histrionic art destroys serious purpose in its votaries.

The addresses, so unlike each other and characteristic of their respective authors, were one in emphasizing the degree to which the life of a woman is enlarged and uplifted by a serious occupation, and one in the expression of loyalty to art as a truly divine mistress.

The audience assembled at this session was in such excess of the seating capacity of the Hall of Washington

that the overflow filled the Hall of Columbus, and left the aisles of both halls, the anterooms, and the corridors still crowded. Of this audience of many thousands a large proportion was composed of people whose eagerness to see and hear the great artists on the platform was augmented by the fact that their prejudices had prevented their seeing and hearing them on the stage.

The audience in the Hall of Columbus, where simultaneously a large and important meeting had been held, waited in the hope that the actresses would repeat their addresses there. This was amiably done by Clara Morris, Georgia Cayvan, and Julia Marlowe, but Mme. Modjeska was prevented by a severe cold from gratifying disappointed admirers.

The eager enthusiasm of the audience was such that it seems proper to reproduce the introductory stenographic notes which suggest the features of this unprecedented occasion.

The addresses of the actresses are reproduced nearly entire in this chapter. From Mme. Modjeska's paper is omitted a portion of the historical account of the nun of Gandersheim, with the analysis of her plays; and from that of Miss Marlowe are omitted some incidents in the careers of Rachel, Charlotte Cushman, and Fanny Kemble.—[THE EDITOR.]

STENOGRAPHIC NOTES. "The evening session in Washington Hall was called to order at 8.10 P. M., May 17, 1893, by May Wright Sewall, who said:

"A note has come to the platform from a gentleman in the audience requesting the ladies to remove their hats. (A prompt and general compliance with the request was greeted with great applause.)

"It was expected that every one of the famous women named on this programme would be present with us to-night. I, however, hold in my hand a telegram from Madam Janauschek, which reads:

"'As I find it impossible to be with you, I can console myself only by sending to you the expression of my deepest sympathy with the cause that animates your society and with the objects of this congress. Please convey to the audience a sense of my respect and affection.

"'JANAUSCHEK.'

"We had expected Mlle. Rhéa up to the last moment, and have not been informed of the cause which has prevented her from being here.

"Dr. Julia Holmes Smith it was hoped would serve as the acting president on this occasion, and have the pleasure of introducing the speakers. She is undoubtedly lost in the great crowd without the hall. I have, therefore, asked to serve as the foreign honorary president this evening Mme. Callirrhoe Parren, from Athens, Greece, for it seems proper, on the occasion when women who stand for one of the greatest of the arts are to speak, that a woman who comes from the city where the arts originated, should preside. This is a proud moment for the World's Congress of Representative Women when such illustrious representatives of the great art unite themselves with other women and with this congress, a congress that stands for the finest of all arts, the art of improvement of life, of refining and elevating its conditions. The audience should understand that Mme. Modjeska and the other distinguished women who are to speak to us are at liberty to discuss any phase of the great subject, 'Woman and Her Relations to the Drama.' It is with pleasure I present to you Mme. Modjeska."

## WOMAN AND THE STAGE—ADDRESS BY HELENA MODJESKA (POLISH STAGE NAME, MODRZCJEWSKA; FAMILY NAME, CHLAPOWSKA).

There is a general impression that the connection of woman with the stage is of recent occurrence and does not date farther back than the seventeenth, and in a few

countries the sixteenth, century. This impression is erroneous, as probably a great many of you are aware. Woman is not a new arrival in the history of the drama. Her influence on its development, and I may say more truly on its very origin, has been traced far back into the remotest period of the middle ages, to the second half of the tenth century.

It would be out of place here, and I do not feel competent, to enter into elaborate historical researches and discussions. We all know that the ancient theater had a theocratic origin; it is, therefore, not strange that the Christian theater also had its cradle in religion. But nowhere did woman appear on the ancient stage, if we except her participation in the Greek mysteries and occasional exhibitions of physical display; it is only due to the higher level upon which Christianity has placed woman that she has obtained the opportunity to figure as an important and beneficent factor in the development of dramatic art.

There is a theory, almost generally accepted, that there is no direct connection between the new Christian theater and the old one, and that the former one was born long after the death of the latter. This theory is not exact. The vitality of the dramatic spirit was never entirely extinct. One can trace its continuity through ages, but unquestionably the most important link of the chain is the so-called comedy of the tenth century, the work of a Christian woman.

The very name of comedy in the tenth century seems an anachronism. It was a time of concentration of religious thought and of political upheaval and anarchy caused by the disintegration of the work of Charles the Great. By far the greater part of the Christian community expected the end of the world would come with the approaching millennium of the Christian era. Certainly it does not appear a favorable epoch for an artistic or literary revival. One would think it scarce possible to find then for the drama a poet, a stage, or a public. And yet it was then that from the recess of a monastery hidden in the dark forests of Ger-

many, on the banks of the river Ganda, resounded the first note of dramatic renaissance.

This note was uttered by a woman's voice.

The convent of Gandersheim was founded by Lutolf, Duke of Saxony, grandson of a celebrated Saxon chief, Wittikind, who was conquered and converted by Charlemagne. During the first years of its foundation most of its abbesses were members of the ducal family. One of these abbesses is supposed by some historians to have been a Greek princess, daughter of the Emperor of the Orient, and to have brought from Constantinople elements of higher culture to this remote corner of Germany.

Whatever may be the case, it is certain that the convent of Gandersheim became an intellectual oasis among the deserts of barbarism. It was there that lived and died a modest nun, Hrosvitha, known even to-day more generally as the "Nun of Gandersheim"; it was there that she wrote in Latin her legends, her historical poems, and, what interests us most, her six or seven comedies. About her life we know almost nothing, except the very few personal allusions contained in her works. Thus she informs us that it is to the Princess Gerberg, an imperial niece and abbess of the convent, and to Riccardi that she owes most of her classical knowledge and her literary attainments.

Hrosvitha wrote in Latin. Her legends are in either hexameters or elegiac verse; her plays, the so-called comedies, are in prose. Her Latin is correct, far above the so-called "Kitchen" Latin of the middle ages. She was evidently well versed in the knowledge of the old classic authors, and equally well acquainted with the rich lore of Christian legends and with the theological philosophy of the fathers of the church. Of the dramatic writers of Greece and Rome she seems to have known only Terence. It was her admiration for Terentius' genius and style, combined with abhorrence for his lack of morality, that seems to have inspired Hrosvitha to write her dramas. She states her object in the following words: "I intend to substitute for

the picture of the dissipation of pagan women edifying stories of pure virgins. I have endeavored, so far as the means of my poor little talent allowed, to celebrate the victories of chastity, especially those where woman's weakness triumphs over man's brutality."

The value of Hrosvitha's dramas is mostly in the dialogue, in the richness and subtlety of thoughts, in a spirit of genuine poetry, as well as in an aspect of life and of womanhood to which we have not been treated in the ancient literature.

It is the most important work of transition between the two eras, because, though modeled upon and inspired by the classics, it is the first to bring forth new elements and new forms, on which developed later the drama of the Christian era.

To-day the name of the modest nun of Gandersheim is very little known, though students of the drama and a few learned archæologists and professors in Germany and France have done their best to extol the significance and merits of that strange figure standing solitary between the ancient and the modern world. The publication of her manuscripts by Celtes, in 1501, created a sensation among the German and Italian humanists of the time, and it would not be strange to suppose that they were known, though probably in a transfigured shape, to some of the dramatists of the sixteenth century, and inspired their genius; and thus the influence of Hrosvitha upon the later drama may have been much greater than we can realize to-day.

It seemed to me that in the connection of woman with the stage, or let me say rather with dramatic art and literature, no name deserved a higher rank than the very name of Hrosvitha. I think it is one more laurel in the crown of womanhood that it was a woman who was the originator of the modern drama, and we can claim with pride that the first female dramatist ever known in history was inspired in her work by the highest and most ideal motives, and

that her tendency has been to elevate the moral standard of the drama.

Another point almost as important as the authorship of the first modern plays is their performance. There have been long discussions upon this point, but at present it can be accepted as a fact, based on the authority of the German and French savants, that all of the plays of Hrosvitha were performed in the convent of Gandersheim by young nuns, in the presence of the Bishop of Hildesheim and several high officials of the empire, probably even before the members of the imperial family. How strange, how hardly conceivable is the fact of such an origin for the modern theater in the presence of the unreasonable antagonism between church and stage which has been fostered by narrow-minded people on both sides. Yet it is only natural when we remember the whole history of ancient and modern drama, and if we keep in mind that for long centuries after Hrosvitha the only manifestations of the dramatic spirit were confined to the so-called mysteries, "miracles" and "moralities," performances where religion and scenic display were combined in a curious fashion, much less legitimately than in Hrosvitha's plays.

I do not intend to dwell upon them except to mention that generally women were excluded from such performances. There is known only one instance of woman's participation in a so-called mystery. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, in the city of Metz, three women personated in public the three Marys in the representation of our Lord's passion. In the female convents, however, the custom of private theatricals seems to have persisted from the time of Hrosvitha during the middle ages. They were often forbidden by the bishops, but we know that as late as the sixteenth century, in some of the Spanish convents, they were customary, as Friar Juan Mariana testifies.

In the first half of the sixteenth century, under the reign of Charles V., woman appears on the professional stage in

Spain. Her appearance, however, does not seem to have been generally welcome, because Charles, the son of Philip II., prohibits it by a special edict. Soon, however, the prohibition fell into disuse, and the actress ceased to be an exception. A Spanish writer, Augustin de Rojas, says that in the times of Lope de Vega there were a great many organizations of strolling players through the country. He enumerates as many as six different kinds of such organizations. In the lower organizations women's parts were played by men, in the middle ones by women or boys, but in "The Farandula" and "Compania" all the female parts were personated by women. Cervantes, in his "Don Quixote," speaks of a company of actors that included one woman, who was the wife of the author and played the part of a queen.

Another interesting detail in the history of the beginning of the theater in Spain is an attempt made in 1586 to give separate performances for men and for women. The time selected for the latter was immediately after noon — a regular matinée. It seems that the ladies of Madrid in those times were very fond of matinées, because 760 tickets were disposed of at one real apiece to so many ladies. For some reason or other, however, the performance was forbidden by the authorities, the money was refunded, and the custom of almost exclusive matinées for ladies was not renewed until the present days in America. Italy was the next country after Spain where woman appeared on the stage, about the middle of the sixteenth century, but, following in the footsteps of Philip II., the pope, Innocent IX., forbade their appearance. But, notwithstanding the pope's decree, the substitution of woman for man in female parts became a feature of the Italian theater, as it did of the Spanish, and the Spanish and Italian companies appeared even abroad with women actors.

In September, 1548, the Cardinal of Ferrara, Archbishop of Lyons, was entertaining the king of France, Henry II., and his wife, Catherine de' Medici. The entertainment was

exceedingly sumptuous, and its principal feature was a tragic comedy performed by Italian actors and actresses. This was the first time woman was seen on the stage in France, but it was only fifty years later that a French woman appeared before the public. Her name was Marie Vernier, and her appearance is a very important event in the annals of the French stage, because it was followed immediately by the establishment of a regular theater, the first one in France, managed by her husband and herself.

The formal entrance of women on the stage in England is usually credited to the epoch of the Restoration. It seems, however, that already under Cromwell, when the fervor of the Puritans against the stage had somewhat abated, and Davenant was allowed to give performances at the Rutland House, there was produced the "Siege of Rhodes," a play with music, wherein the part of Ianthe was personated by a woman, Mrs. Coleman.

Under the reign of Charles II. the custom of women's performing on the regular stage was regulated by royal rescript, and a memorable date is the 8th of December, 1680, when the play of "Othello" was given with a special prologue written by one S. Jordan, in order, as he says, to introduce the first woman that ever acted on the stage. Jordan, evidently, could not have been aware of the earlier performance of the "Siege of Rhodes" with Mrs. Coleman, or must have intentionally omitted to refer to it. The woman he alludes to in his prologue was Mrs. Ann Marshall. He curiously insists on the fact that she was a married woman.

In Poland, at the end of the sixteenth century, the Italian troupes of actors and actresses appeared on the private royal stage or in the public squares. A Polish woman is already seen at the beginning of the seventeenth century, when she appears occasionally in translated and original drama.

The country in which woman appears latest on the stage, but where she has contributed to its development more than anywhere else, is Germany. About 1678 there was

formed a company of actors from the students of Leipsic University, under the leadership of Magister Johann Velthen. This company received permission for a permanent organization from the Duke of Saxony, and established the first German court theater.

Mrs. Velthen, the wife of the manager, was the first German actress. After the death of Johann Velthen the management of the company passed into the hands of his widow, and so the first German actress is also the first woman who was a theatrical manager.

Frederica Caroline Neuber, or, as she has usually been called, the Neuberin, was the founder of the Leipsic school of acting. She did more than any one else to build up a higher dramatic repertoire, as well as to promote a loftier standard of dramatic art, in Germany. As a German historian says, she closed the gap existing between the German stage and poetry. The life of the Neuberin was a continual struggle against the low prevailing forms of burlesque and harlequinades, and she died poor and solitary, with a broken heart, in a little hamlet near Dresden. The epitaph on her tombstone, erected long afterward, calls her the creator of artistic taste on the German stage, a title which she certainly deserves.

The woman who had the most pronounced influence upon the German stage was Sophie Schroeder.

At the beginning of the present century there were two tendencies in the dramatic art of Germany opposed to each other. The Hamburg school, under the influence of the great actor Louis Schroeder, was tending toward realism; the school of Weimar, created by the great poets Goethe and Schiller, tended toward idealism.

The object of the first was to preserve strong characteristics, and to avoid pathos; the object of the latter was to keep up the standard of the ideal of poetry, which might be lowered, they feared, in the narrow limits of every-day surroundings and commonplace treatment. Both were right to some extent, and the solution of the struggle lay in

the union of the two tendencies. This work of unification was done by a woman.

Antoinette Sophie Schroeder was an eminently poetic nature. She could not resist the influence of Goethe and Schiller, and became a genuine idealist in the conception of her parts; but, on the other side, brought up under the influence of her cousin in the Hamburg theater, she remained a realist in execution.

The influence of women may not have acted in such a direct way upon the development of the theater in other countries, but whoever is familiar with the history of the theater will acknowledge with me that at every new phase of development, at every new step of progress, actresses have marked their way as prominently as actors.

If the influence of our sex upon the theater is beneficent, can we say the same of the influence of the theater upon the woman herself? In other words, does the life of an actress tend to develop her better qualities, or does it do the contrary? I should not like to give a decisive reply to the question. I may, however, say that, while the life that we lead exposes us to many temptations, stimulates our vanity too much, and takes us sometimes too far from our family duties, it has some advantages which may compensate for the losses. It certainly must develop in us a sense of independence, and therefore of responsibility. On the other side, it brings us into contact with the highest creations of the master minds, and is bound to open both our hearts and our minds to the generous impulses and higher problems which they lay before humanity. As for morals, I can only state that there are as many good women on the dramatic stage as in any other walk of life.

The good that woman can do on the stage for humanity can be summed up in the good that the stage itself can do. We can not expect that only the work of great masters shall be produced in the numerous theaters. Very often the stage is used only for amusement, but even in that case it should not be detrimental to the better instincts

CAROLINE M. SEVERANCE.

MARY A. B. MAHER.

SARAH B. COOPER.

KATE TUPPER GALPIN.

ANNA BYFORD LEONARD.

of man. Lessing said: "It is of the utmost importance that the amusements of the stage shall not be coarse and idiotic." But he adds, and we all, I hope, believe with him: "A good theater is more than an amusement, and can produce an effect second only to that of the pulpit. It helps to build up and to keep the purity of our language; it impresses our morals and customs; it ennobles both the performer and the public."

In the present days there has appeared in a new form the old struggle between idealism and realism, similar to the one I alluded to in mentioning Sophie Schroeder. Thoré, the great French critic, says: "Art is the expression of the beautiful." Nowadays, art is more often called the expression of the true, of nature. But, whether it is the beautiful that brings to our hearts the love of truth and justice, or whether it is truth that teaches us how to find the beautiful in nature and how to love it, in either case art does a noble work. It drags out the soul from its everyday shell, and brings it under the spell of its own mysterious and wonderful power, so that a memory of this experience stays with the people, sustains them in their daily labors, and refines their minds.

Dramatic art has a more limited field than some of her sisters. While a painter or a sculptor can choose his own subjects, and only deal with nature as it appears to his temperament, the actor has to follow the dramatic author. But the interpretation of the author's work depends upon the performer. By transfusing his own soul into the character performed, the actor can either degrade or elevate the impersonation. There is no question that almost any part of the higher drama can be interpreted, without detriment to the author's object, so as to appeal to the lower instincts of the public or to its higher intellect or sentiment.

It is in this direction that I think woman's mission on the stage can be of great significance to her art, to her public, and to herself.

I have hitherto alluded only to the actress, although the connection of the female dramatist with the theater is of similar, if not stronger, importance. I referred to the subject in speaking of Hrosvitha, but the general treatment of the question belongs to the congress devoted to literature. There is, however, yet a third way in which stage and women react upon each other. It is the woman who goes to the theater. All of us have at heart the future of the American stage, and by this we mean the progress of dramatic art and dramatic literature. This future may, in some way, be made brighter by the combined efforts of the playwright and the performer, but in the present condition of affairs the improvement of the stage depends first of all upon the public.

In these last years of the nineteenth century, when materialism, or at least a practical spirit, rules over everything, the theater has become principally a commercial enterprise. We may consider this a drawback, we may seek remedies for it, but in the meantime we have to look at facts as they are. Now we know that in all the economic questions the law of supply and demand is the supreme master; therefore the theater will produce what the public requires. The manager, the author, and the actor obey the public's dictation.

Who can influence the public? I think only woman. She forms the larger half of it, and can to a great extent rule the other half. The American woman especially has always been an important factor in all the civilizing influences. Her position in this country is superior to that occupied by her sisters elsewhere, and is due to her intellectual qualities and to the high general level of her instruction.

I am happy to say that there has always been a tendency on her part to protect and encourage true art. Hrosvitha's spirit of refinement and poetry is still living in women's hearts, and therefore I look with serenity and hope to the future, convinced, as I am, that the almighty power of Amer-

ican woman will create a new era in the history of the American stage.

## Woman in the Emotional Drama — Address by Clara Morris.

First and foremost let me say that, standing here by the right of kindly invitation, before this great body of brainy, big-hearted women — earnest workers, not for themselves alone, God help them, but for the welfare of the whole race — I feel I am receiving the highest honor of my life. Honored and proud I am, but I am vexed. I suppose you all know what happens when a red flag is waved in the face of an angry bull? You may not have tried the experiment personally — neither have I — but the books say that such an act results in frenzy to the bull, who proceeds to mix things up and generally to hurt somebody. Now I don't want to hurt any one, but when a lady asks me to stand up and make some remarks about the emotional drama she flaunts in my face the very reddest red flag to be found in all this big, beautiful city. Emotional drama, indeed! Whenever I hear the term "emotional actress" it always suggests to me a darkened room, an hysterical woman, and a strong odor of ether — it has such a weak, whimpering, soppy sound. Don't think I am venturing to find fault with the drama, particularly the very branch in which I have longest served. No, I only quarrel with that dreadful word "emotional," as applied to plays and players. All dramas deal with the human emotions. To be sure, some of the old-time playwrights treated their human emotions in a most inhuman way. They swathed them up in bombastic language, then mounted them upon the stilts of pomposity and affectation. Thus accoutered it would, of course, become difficult to recognize the humanest sort of an emotion. The whole body of actors of the natural school came near being made ridiculous through having that wretched title tacked

to them. The idea prevailed for a time that an emotional play must be a tearful play. A synopsis might read like this: First Act. — A tiny, tearful trickle. Second Act.— A widening, weeping woe. Third Act.— A flood; tumultuous torrent of tears. Fourth Act.— Everything washed away.

But after a time it came to be understood that there were other human emotions than that of grief — such as love, hate, hypocrisy, jealousy, and the like — and that the deadliest grief, the bitterest anguish may be quite dry and tearless; that, in fact, an emotional actress is not of necessity a human reservoir. But one thing is certain, this school or style of acting, whatever it may be called, we owe to woman, just as to woman we owe the existence of those wonderful modern plays, those studies of human life, in which one almost sees the movement of the living brain, so closely is thought followed; one almost feels the hot throbbing of the human heart, so fiercely are its secrets sought for.

There came a time in the history of the drama when, woman's influence growing ever stronger, the writer of plays began to think about her, to study her, to write of her and for her. Poor male student of womankind! Many a time he must have felt that the regally repellent riddle of the desert was easier to guess than any one of the living riddles about him. He found women who, seeming scarcely capable of the fierceness of an angry dove, yet possessed the endurance and tenacity of the bull dog; women with ambition as high as men's, but purer; nay, sometimes even a woman with passions strong enough to wreck Othello, but in her— so curbed, so coerced were they by her will — they paced primly quiet, to suit conventional demand, her whole life through.

Finding this subject interesting himself, he doubtless argued that the public might find it interesting too; and so one night in France the young son of a mighty father, in the face of all artistic Paris, cast his gauntlet down. Many of course there were who rushed to take it up, but

paused amazed. That night there was a miracle performed, for before their awed and startled eyes there passed a fallen woman's soul. Marguerite Gautier, with laughing face and anguished heart, seemingly unconscious of observers, laid bare before them the bitter mockery of her mirth, her secret shame, her love, her hope, her torture and despair, until at last she bowed her weak shoulders beneath her self-made cross and stumbled blindly to her grave. Surely that night was an epoch in play making.

Two lilies, broken both, I often dream of. One tall, and fair, and sweet, oh, heavenly sweet, with all its perfume still about it, broken by too strong a wind, lies all its fair length upon the grass, green and cool with sparkling dew — broken but pure — and that the Lily Maid of Astolat. The other, which had been a bud of equal promise, grown equal tall, and fair, and sweet, oh, honey-sweet, is broken too, broken and cast by an evil hand upon the city street, where every passer-by may see ground into the sweet whiteness of its face the smirch and bruise of a man's boot-heel — broken and soiled — and that is Marguerite Gautier, poor Queen of the Camelias.

I am wandering too far a-field. Oh, dear mistress of ceremonies, before I take my seat let me cast aside the limitations put upon me to speak only of the emotional drama, and say a word of my profession as a whole. Already you have been addressed upon this subject by those far better fitted for the task than I, but, even so, you will allow me to express my gratitude to the profession that has given me under God every good thing I ever had — the dear profession that has always been woman's friend. Hundreds of years ago, when every other profession was locked against her, and most of them had a man on guard outside that she might not learn too much about the size and shape of the keyhole, the doors of the theater stood wide, and to the woman who would enter there were two questions put: "Can you act?" "Will you work?"

for women must work. They may weep, too, if they want to, but they work on a perfect equality with man, and, what is more, are as well paid for their work. And, further still, has one been without previous education, what a teacher is this profession! It takes you by the hand and leads you by paths of romance and dramatic incident from land to land, from age to age, and, best of all, from poet to poet, till you reach the knees of Shakespeare's self. There our greatest and mightiest have stood with the humility of little children to learn the A B C of that great art we call acting. She acts best who is not held bound to one narrow school. Doubtless, who serves Shakespeare serves best. There is a lady here this moment who illustrates my meaning, for will she not one night declaim her uncrowned, death-sentenced queen right royally, and the next night, in her laughing rush through Arden Forest, seem at times almost to catch the master's very mantle in her bonnie, reckless hands?

To the great student of Shakespeare here present I humbly bow my head, and to the other sisters present I offer greeting and God-speed to the goal of their desires.

Surely our profession is great and beautiful, a very temple of art. A temple with many courts, full crowded; and altars, some to art, some to nature; but it is within the sevenfold sanctuary, before the grand high altar erected to art and nature, that one finds the little band of mighty ones, who, having hearts to feel with, eyes to see with, brains to think with, have with loving, loyal labor won the right to enter there.

Now, my last words I speak to those whose eyes my eyes have never met; whose hands my hands have never grasped -- to the actresses of the future. Through a veil of to-morrows I see dim forms struggling forward; from them I would exact a promise that when they enter this profession which they have chosen above all other professions, when they stand upon the threshold of that great temple, they will take a solemn vow that whether they win name and

fame within, or whether they pass their whole life in some outer court, at the end, when all is done, they will leave upon its altar the pure white flower of a blameless life.

## THE STAGE AND ITS WOMEN — ADDRESS BY GEORGIA CAYVAN.

I come before you to-night, as one from the rank and file of the theatrical profession, not to make a set speech on the subject in which I am enrolled, but to talk to you, if I may, simply, earnestly, perhaps a little disjointedly, about the stage and its women.

The veil of illusion has long been torn away from the stage. Why not direct our efforts toward tearing away the cloud of misapprehension that obscures this power in the world's progress? The drama has its legitimate province, its peculiar function. Primarily the purpose of the stage is relaxation, and herein lies its great usefulness.

The terrible tension of stimulation, the restlessness and lack of repose which has come upon the American people through our rapid growth and formation as a nation, our intensity of interest and concentration of desire for the best of life, amounts to a disease which physicians call "Americanitis," and which makes essential a form of recreation which shall satisfy in the majority the intellectual craving at small expense of mental effort. Such recreation the stage supplies.

It is for us to take the tired men and women, to lift them out of the rush and struggle for a brief space, to help them forget the strife and ambition, the disappointment and sadness of their lives, in the world of the stage, where the glamour and romance bring restfulness, where ideal love and worthy deeds and noble sentiments are happily shown, and where griefs are only agreeably pathetic because they are not real agony, and everything comes out all right in the last act. And so we send them back to you, preachers and teachers and reformers, rested

and refreshed, to take up the exactions of life. And on these lines the stage becomes a popular educator, in that it presents to men and women who are too worn and weary, perhaps too indifferent and thoughtless, to read for themselves, literature in a form pleasing and easy of comprehension — gives them three volumes before 11 o'clock, tells whether he marries her or not in the last chapter, and sends them home satisfied.

It is not an ignoble mission to poetize the prose of simple things and lend a touch of romance to the practical for the inspiration of the masses too limited in mind, or too much occupied with the world's work, to grasp the splendor of great thoughts set in classical language. Remembering the drama's honorable service in the past, when it was the temple of art, the highest exponent of culture, perpetuating and disseminating the thought of the great teachers and philosophers before printing had made literature an inheritance of the common people, I claim for it also a place in the intellectual life of to-day, because it interprets for us in the classical drama the life of the past, which is the literature of the present, and presents to us with nice exactness in the modern play the life of to-day, which will be the literature of the future.

A valuable contribution, then, to mental growth is the familiarity which the stage gives us with the great masterpieces of literature, and the interpretation of them by men and women who devote their lives to studying special characters and personages which baffle the scholar and confuse the critic. One might pore over Hamlet until one was as mad as the melancholy Dane himself, and never approximate the clear conception of the great master's meaning which Edwin Booth has given to the world. We search the record and study the archives concerning that ever-fascinating but ill-fated Queen of Scots until we are weary with much reading, and then go some night to the play, and in three hours we meet and know this Mary Stuart as Modjeska has recreated her from Schiller's story.

But the modern drama has its field of practical usefulness as well. It should be the authority on fine points of etiquette, on the truly artistic in dress, on the conventional and correct in social forms and ceremony. In short, it should be the final court of appeal in all that pertains to the accurate and cultured in manners, morals, and speech according to the standards of the time. There are a few theaters where mothers may bring their young daughters, and teachers may send their young pupils, where men may come with their wives and sweethearts, because the play is sure to present the lesson of life wholesomely, and to set a high ideal of manhood and womanhood that is an inspiration to pure living.

Moreover, the stage reaches a class of people which the pulpit can not influence. Those most in need of ministration, the bitter, world-worn, pessimistic men and women, the heartbroken and hopeless, the gay and frivolous, as well as the immoral, come to us when they will not go to you. You seek out some of them with your vigilance and zeal; they come to us of their own accord. We speak to them in a language they understand; we appeal to their better natures by presenting pictures of true nobility of character, by making our villains more unfortunate and repulsive than the genuine article, and by always seeing to it that the hero marries a rich heiress, that the wronged wife is recompensed, and the betrayer of innocence is punished. Seriously, the influence of the stage upon the morals of the community is too valuable to be lightly considered. It should be guarded, and protected, and encouraged.

There is much talk of the elevation of the stage among some of those who devote themselves to it. But the real elevation of the stage must come from the people, not from the profession. It must come from a grander art-view, which shall refuse to narrow the art down to the personality of the artist. It must come from a purification of public sentiment which shall refuse to accept women whose only qualification for stars in the dramatic firmament is an appeal to

morbid curiosity. It must come from a better understanding of the stage and its prerogatives, which shall demand and indorse legitimate drama rather than the sensational, the degrading, the sensual; which shall distinguish between talent and notoriety, and shall honor gifted womanliness rather than brainless beauty.

In particular should women recognize the progressive spirit and influence of the stage, for the dramatic profession has been the pioneer in granting to women the privileges which in other intellectual callings they are still striving to compass; the first to rise above the narrowness that makes sex a barrier to success, and to *recompense woman's talent and ability with the same measure of fame and fortune commanded by men.* The women of the stage, by their convincing genius and determination, have made the breach in the wall of prejudice which women of other professions are widening every day. It has not been to us an easy victory, but we went about it sooner than you, and thus we have the advantage.

In the rapid growth of this profession, in the increase of theatrical centers, in the multiplication of dramatic companies, and in the demand of the popular drama for women of gentle breeding and broad culture, as well as for those gifted with great histrionic talent, a new problem in sociology presents itself to the thoughtful. The women of the stage — what will you do with them? What is your duty toward them? You cultivate your flowers for the delight they give you — you do not step on them because they yield no useful fruit; you do not criticize them except in tenderness to make them more beautiful. I am not speaking to people of my own profession to-day, but as a woman to women I would make my plea for a better understanding, a more sympathetic appreciation of the women of the stage. I would present to you something of what the dramatic profession demands of women — particularly here in America, where conditions prevail which are not to be found in any other country — that, with the wise tolerance that knowledge

and understanding always establish, you may learn to regard us not as curious creatures to be looked down upon in Pharisaical pity, or goddesses to be looked up to with sentimental heroine-worship, but simply as women of the same family, speaking a different language, governed by different standards, yet in spite of tradition and environment maintaining an integrity of principle which has given to the profession such womanly women as my colleagues of to-day, and many others of humbler gifts but equal worthiness.

A serious obstacle to the development of the actress, and one which is peculiar to America, is this: the personality of the artist is ever made paramount to her art. For the public is curious, and the press must perforce satisfy their curiosity. In this respect the press reflects the demands of its readers, as the stage reflects the taste of its audiences. Doctor Johnson said truly,

> "The drama's art the drama's patrons give,
> As they, who live to please, must please, to live."

Perhaps the greatest injustice of the public toward this woman, to whom it looks for its happiest recreation, is this insatiable curiosity concerning the smallest details of her private life, which results in culpable carelessness in circulating sensational and unfounded rumors, and an equally culpable credence in accepting without investigation any extravaganza of the penny-a-liner's fancy. The player is accused of seeking notoriety, when it is notoriety that seeks the player. We receive letters of interrogation intended to fill out special newspaper articles — "When, where, and how do you sew?" "Are you afraid of mice?" "What do you want for Christmas?" "What kind of dog do you prefer?" etc.— as if private preference in such matters had any bearing on dramatic art.

Still another demand, and one which affects all actresses more or less seriously, is the desire of the public to enjoy luxury and magnificence in dress. The price of perpetual daintiness on the stage is eternal vigilance and expense, and the cost of modish gowns, which can be worn but a

season and require the skill of the fashionable dressmaker instead of the stage costumer in construction, taxes heavily the resources of small-salaried players. The love of money may be the root of all evil, but the lack of it is the bitter fruit which hangs thick upon the giant tree whose shadow falls across many a noble woman's life, wrecked in the struggle with poverty before talent is recognized. When I learned that it was at first intended to include the women of the pulpit and the women of the stage in this day's session, I remembered how, in the school for oratory where I studied, the future women ministers and players sat in their classes together and received the same instruction. Indeed no profession requires dramatic instruction so much as that of the clergy, because the magnificent lines of Scripture need all the inspired expression that nature and art can give, that they may be uttered as grandly as written. And this profession of ours, which the idle and frivolous plunge into from vanity, which disgraced women seek in their degradation to the insult of all sincere artists, into which so many tumble without any preparation, and with some degree of success, really demands as its foundation the broadest, most liberal education, and requires not only a knowledge of some of the arts, but an intelligent appreciation of all of them. It is really a life-long study, in which success is never a satisfaction, but always a spur to fresh endeavor, a goad to greater effort, while at the last it leaves nothing but a memory which dies with the last person who has witnessed one's success.

There is among the actors in Japan a beautiful custom which gives to dramatic talent the value of inheritance, the certainty of perpetuity. Every great actor who has not a son of his own adopts a boy, to whom he gives his name; and this boy becomes to him a son and pupil, who will receive and hand down in time to a son and pupil the name and methods of the master. Thus their stage has an aristocracy of great family names and an inheritance of cumulative genius. With us "the unsubstantial pageant fades

and leaves no trace behind," for our aristocracy of art is limited.

I should like to make a special plea for the stock actresses, for I believe that the regeneration of the drama is in the hands of the stock company, and that, when the drama reaches its pristine glory and power among the arts, it will be the stock companies that will present, with a degree of perfection never reached before, the masterpieces of dramatic literature.

By stock company I mean an organization of actors, each in himself an able actor, not supporting and assisting a name of greater magnitude, but each eminent, and capable of doing his part toward giving that harmony and symmetry to a performance which makes the good play seem a real transcript of life. Such a company is the present one of the French theater, every member of which has reached the highest individual distinction in his or her line of work. Such a company is fitted to perform any play, classic or modern, tragedy or comedy. The dramas of Shakespeare could be re-illumined with such an organization. If one actor achieved distinction one night in Shylock, another of the same company at another time would display his power as Hamlet or Romeo. So with the women. All the parts would be emphasized by the actor's art according to the dramatist's aim. And so it is in the drama of to-day, which does not aspire to great efforts, because our deeds have ceased to be heroic, because war and the pomp and circumstance of war have given place to peace and the arts and graces of social and domestic life, to which the modern drama devotes itself. In this the actor of the stock company, while not, like his brothers and sisters of the past, possessing the opportunity of so great personal display, is still enabled at times to illumine with his art the simpler and less complicated conditions of his play. But the vastness of the theater-going public of to-day requires so many repetitions of a popular play that the stock actress must appear over and over in the same rôle. The person who

witnesses a performance once can not realize what it means to the actress to play the same part two, three, or four hundred times with the same degree of feeling, pathos, humor, and naturalness of charm and manner at every performance. Horsemen tell us that a horse never makes his record more than once; and some horses never make a record at all, because they are not brought on when all conditions are most favorable. An actress must make her record every night. She must not only act her best, but look her best at every performance, and under all circumstances, or be accused of retrograding.

The inspiration necessary to keep oneself up to this plane of excellence must come from the public. Applause to the actress is the breath of life to her being; it is the only recognition, the only approval, and the only indorsement which she can be assured of that makes her feel that her efforts are pleasing; she submits herself with perturbation to the suffrages of that great and inexorable being, the public. Do you wonder, then, that we come before you with fear in our hearts, and with hope that you will be satisfied with our work, and that you will show it with discrimination and wholeheartedness? It is your applause that stimulates us, takes away the mechanical feeling caused by constant repetition of the same part, and wakes up the inspirational sources of our art. The women of the domestic circle know how grateful is the approval of husband, brother, or son; how is it, therefore, with us who appeal nightly to so many whose judgment and approval is none the less pleasing? Art has its triumphs no less renowned than home, and it is from you, the people who sit in front, that we hope to win them. And in this country alone, I am sorry to say, a woman's art-life on the stage is comparatively short, for old age seldom brings honor, because of the public's constant craving after the new and the pretty at the expense of art; and yet no art can be worthy unless it is matured.

The question of stage morality — that is an incubus which has clung to the drama for many years; but the nine-

teenth century has luckily dissipated the clouds of mystery and doubt that surrounded the player, and the stage has never before numbered so many worthy women as to-day. The stage itself is purer and nobler, but the publicity of its life is its stumbling block.

It might seem pertinent to explain some of the influences that prevent an actress from being exactly like other women. Does it seem possible for a woman who has to simulate a varied assortment of feelings every night to be like the woman whose every emotion is sincere and natural? A woman of the stage must lay bare her heart and soul before the public in order to present in perfection some type of woman. The artificial is always dangerous to character, whether it is the artificial in society or the artificial on the stage. It is almost menacing to moral perception to bring the most sacred impulses of womanhood down to the level of the commonplace by constant draft upon them. In every other profession a woman may keep inviolate the holy of holies of her individuality. In this alone is the veil rent, and the sacrificial flame upon her altar is lighted for the entertainment of the public. They little realize what it costs her.

There is an old story of a dancer who wore about her neck a precious chain of pearls as she came before the king; in the midst of the dance the chain parted, and the pearls were scattered beneath her flying feet. How was she to step the measure so gayly that the king should never know her care, nor the handsome courtiers smiling lightly down, nor the gentle ladies looking on in languid grace, and yet never crush a single snow-white pearl, while the cymbals clashed and the wild, glad music sounded madder and merrier, and the witchery of the dance dulled her fear and deadened her caution? The exceptional woman of exceptional breeding may, when the court pageant has passed, count her pearl chain and find it all complete, even as those which home-guarded women wear so proudly. Will you remember what it costs? Will you think of the danger—a

moment of forgetfulness, a careless step? Will you help us by understanding us — help us with your sympathy, your influence — lest we crush our pearls?

## WOMAN'S WORK UPON THE STAGE — ADDRESS BY JULIA MARLOWE.

To show clearly and fully woman's relation to and influence on dramatic art, it would be necessary to treat comprehensively of the whole history of the drama, which it will be impossible for me to do at this time because of the necessary brevity of this paper.

I hope to show, however, by a few historical examples and a brief discussion of woman's peculiar adaptability to the needs of the drama, not only her special fitness for dramatic expression, but also her right, by accomplishment, to the exalted position in this art which she has won, and won by courage, industry, and perseverance.

The struggle that actors have undergone for recognition, and for a respectable, established position in society, since the modern drama first appeared in the tableaux and the spectacles of the early Christian church, is now a matter of history; but it is not generally known how much more fierce has been the strife in regard to women on the stage, and how much more difficult it has been for them to convince the world at large of the importance of their hard-won position, and their beneficial influence in dramatic art.

Notwithstanding the marked disfavor with which women were first received upon the English stage, about 1660, reasonable and serious-minded persons could not fail to see the propriety of having Juliet and Desdemona acted by a girl rather than a boy. The need for the innovation is well expressed in these lines, taken from the prologue written for the introduction of the first actress:

HELENA MODJESKA.

JULIA MARLOWE.

GEORGIA CAYVAN.

"Our women are defective, and so sized
You'd think they were some of the guard disguised;
For, to speak truth, men act (that are between
Forty and fifty) wenches of fifteen,
With bone so large, and nerve so incompliant,
When you call Desdemona enter giant."

The work that properly belonged to women, when given to men, often caused ridiculous incongruities; and the idea in itself is so truly fantastic that I can not refrain from citing the apology that was made to his majesty Charles II. when, during a prolonged wait at one of the theatrical performances at which this sovereign was present, the delay was explained and indulgence begged on the plea that the "queen was not shaved." It would appear that immediately upon the substitution of women for boys, in the advancement of dramatic illusion, the importance of woman's appearance, and the artistic need for it, must have been generally felt, for we read that actresses were soon in great demand, and it was found not only that they increased the popularity of the theaters in which they performed, but that their coöperation was indispensable to the proper presentation of any play. They made possible a fullness and beauty of interpretation which had not before been dreamed of. Take, as a single example, the women of Shakespeare. They stand as vivid types of youth and beauty, so alive, indeed, with the living warmth of femininity that their expression by other than women is a sacrilege. A play performed by men only can hardly be conceived to-day, and the wonder is that such an absurdity should ever have existed. The feeling of the need of woman's coöperation with man for dramatic purposes grew rapidly, for men's minds were at this time too highly susceptible to advancement to remain in ignorance of this necessity, and it was not long before actresses were recognized and highly respected. Mrs. Betterton, for instance, in the year 1674, when "Calista" was performed at court, was chosen as instructress to Lady Mary and Lady Anne, and

much of the subsequent graceful elocution and dignity of bearing of these princesses was accredited to this actress. We read that, in company with her distinguished husband, she made her home the abiding-place of "charity, hospitality, and dignity."

What a vast work has been accomplished in the drama since then, and what a lasting monument of art has woman reared for herself in the annals of the stage! To those whose souls are filled with sacred reverence for creative genius what a wealth of delight there is in looking back upon the dazzling record of the theater! The achievements of Mrs. Betterton, Nell Gwynne, Woffington, Oldfield, Siddons, and more latterly Rachel, Ristori, Fanny Kemble, Ellen Terry, Charlotte Cushman, Helen Faucit, Adelaide Neilson, and a host of others stand forth as irrefutable proofs of the dignified importance of woman's work in the line of true artistic, dramatic advancement.

The history of the theater will show her serious devotion to dramatic art, and that it has absorbed her very being as no other calling has ever done; that it has not been a fancy, nor in the higher expression even a gratification of vanity, but has been and is a life devotion, an art to which woman has given her best intellectual and emotional self.

Innumerable instances may be given of women in the profession who have shown rare administrative ability. The history of the English stage affords many examples of the women who have been successful managers, and the same is true in this country — Mrs. Conway, for instance, and Mrs. John Drew, who, aside from her fine ability as a comedienne, for years conducted the Arch Street Theater, Philadelphia, with dignity and success.

It is often stated that woman is lacking in most walks of life in the faculty of creative genius, and indeed that in this particular, in comparison with man, she is decidedly inferior. This is, perhaps, a reasonable conclusion in view of her history, but not so emphatically in regard to dramatic work.

It is by no means a new thought that man is by nature more intellectual, and woman by nature more emotional. Of course it is not meant by this that man is never emotional and woman never intellectual, yet it is surely fair to assume that to man belongs more properly the power of intellectuality, and to woman the emotional quality. Was it not, therefore, the very possession by nature of this latter quality, which is certainly an absolute necessity in dramatic art, that made her inherently suited for dramatic expression?

Mr. Ruskin, in speaking of the necessary qualities that go to form great artists, says: "First, sensibility and tenderness; second, imagination; and third, industry." Woman's nature is peculiarly alive to all these conditions. It is then no wonder that women on the stage have accomplished great things; and they will accomplish greater things in the future while such women as Modjeska, Terry, Duse, and the matchless Bernhardt continue to show their genius to the world.

Woman's work in literature has, with few exceptions, been denied any claim to greatness. In music and in other arts she is admitted not to have shown any particular creative power, but her place upon the stage is as absolutely unquestioned as man's. In having thus secured for herself an eminent position in the drama, the actress has advanced the whole cause of woman, since every individual triumph raises the estimation in which the intellectual achievements of a whole class are held. Woman is better understood because she has been faithfully portrayed; she is more highly regarded because of her ability to make that portrayal; and that faithful portrayal has, I feel, a powerful moral influence in an educational sense. I thoroughly believe it is the duty of mothers to foster in the hearts of their children, while at a tender age, a serious consideration for the better form of dramatic literature and dramatic representation, avoiding the unhappy tendency of the present age, which is to regard acting merely as a form of

amusement rather than, as it should be regarded, an amusement combining a means for intellectual control and artistic suggestion, presented in an attractive and suggestive manner.

That woman is capable of arduous effort and untiring devotion has been fully demonstrated upon the stage. She has helped to elevate the drama to its rightful place among the educational forces of life, and to make true what Morley says: "At the play-house door, we may say to the doubting, 'Enter boldly, for here, too, there are gods.'"

## CHAPTER V.—SCIENCE AND RELIGION.

PREFATORY REMARKS BY THE EDITOR — COPIOUS EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES DELIVERED IN THE GENERAL CONGRESS BY DR. MARY PUTNAM JACOBI, DR. GARRETT ANDERSON, REV. FLORENCE E. KOLLOCK, REV. CAROLINE J. BARTLETT, AND REV. MARY J. SAFFORD — BRIEF EXTRACTS FROM THE DISCUSSION OF THESE ADDRESSES BY DR. JULIA HOLMES SMITH, MRS. LEANDER STONE, DR. MARY A. D. JONES, REV. EUGENIA T. ST. JOHN, REV. MARY L. MORELAND, AND MRS. AMELIA S. QUINTON — EXTRACTS FROM A PAPER SUBMITTED IN A REPORT CONGRESS BY DR. SOPHIA JEX-BLAKE — EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS GIVEN BY DR. ELLIS R. SHIPP IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL RELIEF SOCIETY.

THE title of this chapter may suggest the question, "Why connect two subjects apparently so remote from each other?" The reason for doing so is twofold — science rests upon positive knowledge; religion rests upon faith. Until recently the general tone of religious discussion has implied that the blinder the faith the truer was the religion. *A priori* arguments ascribed to women capacity for faith in direct ratio to their incapacity for reason. Recent history, however, shows that the opposition which devout women have encountered in conquering opportunities to apply their religious experience and their faith to the service of humanity has developed in them the ability to reason, and the habit of applying reason to the solution of problems heretofore deemed to belong to the realm of faith. This explains the fact, otherwise anomalous, that clergywomen of whatever denomination are, as a rule, more liberal in their interpretation of Scripture than are clergymen of the same sect, and more inclined to ignore sectarian barriers. This high average of liberal-mindedness among clergywomen justifies the expectation that they will be a potent agency in unifying

the branches of the Christian church. On the same fact is based the hope that clergywomen will lend large aid to the reconciliation of science and religion. It is a current belief that the pursuit of science matures skepticism, and that, of all the sciences, medicine is most destructive of the religious faith of its followers. The manner in which the religious faith of women has met the severe test imposed by the practice of medicine is another reason for the hope that women will help to bridge the chasm too long assumed to exist between science and religion.

Another reason for grouping together the addresses presented in this chapter is that medicine and the ministry are the two of the so-called learned professions in which women have achieved most success. Authorship and teaching are, indeed, now admitted to be professions, and journalism has asserted its title to the same rank. Women have conquered personal success and public recognition in all of these callings, but the majority mind does not yet instinctively include them under the phrase, "The learned professions."

Doctor Jacobi's address affords a general survey of the scientific work of women, and thus properly introduces the more specific consideration of women as physicians. The information it contains could hardly be presented more briefly. It has seemed wise, therefore, to publish it almost complete, although this compels omitting large portions of the remarks of those who participated in the discussion of the same theme.

From the admirable report of Doctor Jex-Blake have been omitted parts reproducing the information contained in the other addresses.

In the discussion of women as ministers, their struggle to gain access to the pulpit, their contribution to the interpretation of the Scriptures, and their peculiar adaptation to pastoral service are considered from the standpoints of history, philosophy, fancy, and biography by regularly ordained clergywomen of the Universalist, Unitarian,

Methodist-Protestant, and Congregational denominations. —[THE EDITOR.]

WOMEN IN SCIENCE — ADDRESS WRITTEN BY DR. MARY PUTNAM JACOBI OF NEW YORK; READ BY DR. JULIA HOLMES SMITH OF ILLINOIS.

Those who interest themselves in the modern development of mental activity in women, are liable to imagine that this has been aroused equally in all directions. This, however, is far from being the case. The two great activities of modern times are industry and science, and it is precisely in industry and science that women are least conspicuous. In all industrial occupations, it is true, women are largely engaged — they constitute more than two-thirds of all the factory operatives of the world, they throng the workshops, they carry on the retail business of stores — but we rarely find them as yet among the captains of industry, among the leaders, projectors, or controllers of industrial enterprises on any large scale.

Physical science at the present day has opened up a sphere of activity resembling that of industry in an enormous development of details, which can afford useful employment to multitudes of persons of moderate ability, if well trained in technical methods and possessed of patience and conscientiousness. Either original researches or the processes of applied science demand the coöperation of a great number of assistants to perform manipulations involving much labor and time, requiring intelligence and great accuracy, but not necessitating original mental power.

This is a most useful and important field of work for women. Should they enter largely upon it they might still remain as far removed from the position of the scientific thinkers as is that of the factory operatives from that of the mill owner. But the work of laboratory assistant, though relatively inferior, is absolutely so important, dignified, dif-

ficult, and interesting that the women who should or do engage in it may be well satisfied, even when they do not advance to the dignity of original contributors to the science they serve.

Mathematical calculations are required for many branches, notably astronomy. The *Woman's Journal*, of April 29th, quotes from the "Transactions of the Astronomical Observatory of Yale College" a paper by Miss Margaretta Palmer, a graduate of Vassar College in 1887. This young lady is working as regular assistant in the Yale Observatory, under Doctor Elkin, and has been reinvestigating the orbit of the comet of 1847, which was discovered by Maria Mitchell. Maria Mitchell herself, after establishing her reputation by the discovery of this comet — for which she received a gold medal from the king of Denmark — was for years employed upon the Coast Survey and in the compilation of the "American Nautical Almanac."

Some years ago Professor Bowditch of Harvard University published some valuable researches on the growth of American school children. The result of these researches was summed up in tables based on mathematical calculations, and these were made chiefly by Miss Jacobs at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. At this institution, and also at the Stevens Institute, at Hoboken, ladies have worked as assistants in the chemical laboratories. One of these ladies, Miss Chevalier, was offered a position as permanent assistant in the chemical laboratory at Cornell University, but declined, and has been for many years professor of chemistry at the Woman's Medical College of New York. She has performed difficult chemical researches on nerve tissue. At Ithaca, also, in the laboratory for comparative anatomy, the wife of Prof. Burt G. Wilder assists in her husband's work, and has illustrated his paper on brain anatomy, published in the reference hand-book on medical sciences.

In the histological laboratory of the Woman's Medical College of New York excellent work is done by female

assistants to the professor in the preparation of embryological and other specimens. Similar work is done at the Western colleges where coeducation prevails, as at Ann Arbor.

These little glimpses are all I have been able to obtain of the work of women as laboratory assistants in this country. In Europe, however, and especially in the Swiss universities, women are constantly engaged in the laboratories, and from time to time their names become associated with those of a senior teacher in the publication of some original research. The "Kendall," who, with Leuchsinger at Zürich, published an important essay on the innervation of the sweat glands, was an American girl and medical student.

It is easier for the moment to ascertain the names of the women who have done some independent work in different branches of science. To the original work of Maria Mitchell I have already alluded, and it is well known to every one. Born in 1818, she was the first American woman to be known in any science. She was educated in mathematics and astronomy by her father, and it is said that at the early age of eleven she was already able to assist him in his work. I do not know of any actual contribution to astronomical science made by Miss Mitchell after her one famous discovery, but she published several astronomical treatises, and was the first female member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

It is an interesting fact that the début into science of American women should have been made in mathematics and astronomy, for these are the fundamental sciences of the entire hierarchy, and it is as logical that women should begin with them as it is contrary to much current opinion about women's faculties that they should show any capacity for mathematics at all. However, before Maria Mitchell became known in America, several women in Europe had already achieved distinction in mathematical science. In a biographical dictionary which extends from Rhea Silvia, the mother of Romulus, to Juliet Adam of

modern Paris, there are recorded relatively few names of women who have become known in connection with any branch of science; and ten of these were mathematicians. Of these the earliest reported to us is Hypatia, the celebrated Neoplatonist philosopher, who lived and lectured at Alexandria in the latter part of the fourth century. She was murdered by fanatic monks in 415 A. D., and her books were burned with the Alexandrian library by equally fanatic Mohammedans. The titles of only three have been handed down to us — a commentary on Diophantus, an astronomical canon, and a commentary on conic sections.

After Hypatia history is mute respecting scientific women for eleven centuries. In the seventeenth century the names of three are recorded. The wife of the astronomer Gottfried Kirch, in upper Lusatria, assisted her husband and published almanacs. Maria Cunitz, a learned German lady of Silesia, edited in more convenient form the astronomical tables of Kepler, and in 1650 published others under the title of "Urania Propilia." Finally a French lady, Jeanne Dumée, published in Paris a "Discourse on the Opinion of Copernicus Respecting the Mobility of the Earth."

The eighteenth century, so illustrious with famous men, gave birth also to six women all justly famous for mathematical talent and achievement. The first of these was the Marquise du Chatelet, born in 1706. English and German biographers declare that her writings are saved from oblivion only on account of her association with Voltaire, in whose companionship she pursued her studies. Yet it was no mean achievement to translate, as she did, Newton's "Principia" into French. She also published a work on physical philosophy entitled "Institution de Physique." It is said that in experimental science Mme. du Chatelet proved to be considerably more of an adept than her illustrious companion, and that, when both competed anonymously for a prize offered for a scientific essay on the nature of fire, hers received an honorable mention, his, none at all.

Voltaire, after persevering but futile efforts, became convinced that his genius lay in another direction than experimental science, and decided to concentrate himself exclusively upon literature, where he achieved his fame.

Maria Agnesi, born at Milan in 1718, is said to have been a woman of wonderful intellectual powers. When only twenty years old she was able to discourse on abstruse questions of mathematics and philosophy in many different languages. At the age of thirty she published in remarkably pure Latin a treatise on algebra, with the differential and integral calculus.

Nicole Reine Lepante was born at Paris in 1723, and acquired distinction as an astronomer. She was a friend of Clairant Lelande, whom she assisted in the calculations of the return of Halley's comet in 1757.

Caroline Herschel is more generally known to English-speaking people. She was the faithful and untiring assistant of her brother, the celebrated astronomer, Sir William Herschel, and in the course of eleven years she discovered five new comets. In 1798 she published a valuable catalogue of 516 stars, and later received a gold medal from the astronomical society.

Sophie Germain is in many respects the most interesting of this group of eighteenth-century women. She was born at a notable epoch for us Americans, namely, in 1776. We are told that in 1789, when a girl of thirteen, being profoundly disturbed by the mutterings of the approaching French revolution, she sought in her father's library the means to distract her mind from the thought of impending disasters. Here she discovered the story of Archimedes at the siege of Syracuse, so engrossed with the problems of geometry that he remained deaf to the Roman soldiers invading his room. The child was seized with enthusiasm for a science so noble that it could absorb the mind to this extent, and immediately resolved to devote herself to the study of geometry. Self-educated, and in the teeth of the violent opposition of friends, she became the compeer

and friend of the most noted mathematicians of an age noted for its great men. By correspondence on mathematical subjects she even conquered an intimacy with the great German mathematician, Gauss, writing to him, however, over a masculine signature. Her sex was revealed only when, during the campaign of Jena, Mlle. Germain interceded with the French general in behalf of her learned unknown friend, shut up like Archimedes in a beleaguered city, for whom, perhaps, she feared a similar fate. Mlle. Germain's important original contribution to science is contained in memoirs on the mathematical theory of elastic surfaces, a problem for the solution of which the Institute had offered a prize. The first memoir failed to receive the prize, which indeed was not awarded. "The truth is," observes her biographer, "that Sophie Germain, working, so to speak, by instinct, and without having regularly studied analysis, did not completely solve the question; but her memoir opened the way so decidedly in the right direction that from it Lagrange drew the exact equation." The competition for the prize was offered a second time. Mlle. Germain sent a second memoir, and this time received an honorable mention. Finally, in the third memoir the persevering young scientist was fortunate enough to receive the prize. This honor only stimulated her energies to continue working on the same subject. She discovered remarkable theorems which Legendre inserted in his treatise on the "Theory of Numbers." In the "Annales de Physique et de Chimie" Mlle. Germain published researches on the laws of the equilibrium and of the movement of elastic solids, and in another scientific periodical a memoir on the curvature of surfaces. A philosophical essay written by her, and entitled "Consideration on the State of Sciences," is remarkable for its breadth of thought, and for its anticipation of doctrines to be later enunciated by Auguste Comte.

I have devoted so much of the brief time at my disposal to Mlle. Germain because she may, better than any other

modern woman, serve as a model with whom to compare others who may claim, often too lightly, a rank in science.

The last female mathematician of the eighteenth century is Mrs. Mary Somerville, who was born in Scotland in 1780. Mme. du Chatelet had translated Newton's "Principia" into French; Mrs. Somerville in turn gave to England a translation and analysis of the "Mécanique Céleste" of Laplace. She also wrote a treatise in 1834 on the connection of the physical sciences, and her services to science were publicly acknowledged by her election to membership in the Royal Astronomical Society, and by a yearly pension of $1,500. Mrs. Somerville lived to such an advanced age that she was able to connect the traditions of the eighteenth century with the nineteenth. Mrs. Somerville, living until 1872, thus belongs to our own time, as well as to the brilliant epoch in which she was born. No Englishwoman has, as yet, succeeded her, but I think every one is familiar with the remarkable triumph of Philippa Fawcett at the Cambridge examinations, where she ranked 400 marks above the senior wrangler. England literally rang with this triumph from sea to sea. The *Spectator*, in one of its solemn editorials, declared that this extraordinary achievement necessitated an entire revision of the current views on the natural capacity of women.

Miss Fawcett seems to have inherited her exceptional capacity from her father, also a talented mathematician, whose power of abstraction had been trained and intensified by a lifelong habit of mental work under the terrible affliction of blindness.

In America, Mrs. Franklin, while still Christine Ladd, so distinguished herself as a mathematical student that at the peremptory request of Professor Sylvester she was made a fellow in the mathematical department of the Johns Hopkins University, the only woman so far who has enjoyed this honor.

Mrs. Franklin is the Sophie Germain of America. Her original work in pure mathematics, in logic, and in physics

is remarkable, and preëminently deserves commemoration on this occasion. She has published nine scientific essays.

Mrs. Franklin's extreme modesty, as well as the profound nature of scientific tastes and pursuits, keeps her far removed from the publicity which confers superficial and transitory fame; but if there be to-day a woman in America entitled to represent women in pure science, to demonstrate, indeed, the capacity of women for engaging in science, it is unquestionably Christine Ladd Franklin.

In Europe, however, the young Russian, Songa Kowalewski, until her recent premature death, was the fitting colleague of our American mathematician. She was appointed to a full professorship at the University of Stockholm in 1884.

Like Sophie Germain, at the age of only thirteen Songa, starting from some elementary instruction in arithmetic, plunged all alone into mathematics and mastered trigonometry without a teacher. At sixteen she married a gifted scientist, who assisted her in her studies and secured her admission to the University of Heidelberg. She obtained the Doctor's degree from the University of Göttingen, without an oral examination, on account of three essays, two in mathematical analysis, the third in mathematical physics, concerning the shape of Saturn's ring. Some years later she discovered the complete mathematical solution of the optical problem regarding the movement of light in a crystalline medium. At a spring semester in Stockholm, Songa Kowalewski delivered a course of lectures on the theory of partial differential equations, and this was so successful that the following year she was invited to a full professorship. But this gifted woman died prematurely, after a brief enjoyment of the arduous duties of the position.

In comparison with the difficulties of the mathematical sciences all others appear easy. The natural sciences afford more scope for moderate abilities, and it is, indeed, surprising that, while so many women throng into literature, so few, as yet, have devoted themselves to these delightful pursuits.

Mrs. Susanna Gage, wife of Professor Gage of Cornell University, is a microscopist of recognized ability. She has made valuable original researches upon muscular tissue, and has prepared the microphotographs for several scientific essays of her husband.

Miss Julia Platt, a pupil of Professor Wilder of Cornell, has pursued morphological studies at both Cornell and Freiburg, and has published the results of original researches in the *Journal of Morphology* and in German anatomical journals.

In England, Dr. Frances Hoggan has published, in association with her husband, a series of researches in microscopical anatomy, principally on the lymphatic system.

Other women, English, Russian, and American, have written upon medical science, but I am not acquainted with other histologists or anatomists. Yet in the eighteenth century Madame Manzolini, in Italy, was made a member of the Institute of Bologna, and professor of anatomy in the university of that city, and contemporaneously, at Paris, Marie Catherine Biberan was preparing an anatomical cabinet, which after her death was bought by Catherine of Russia. Mme. Lachapelle and Mme. Boivin in the same century made important contributions to pathological anatomy, as well as to clinical midwifery. Doctor Gregory, Professor of Botany at Barnard College, has given me the names of half a dozen ladies, besides herself, who have made original researches in this science, which for ages tradition has assigned to women. A homonym of our own Elizabeth Blackwell, wife of Alexander Blackwell, published in 1737 an herbal, with colored plates of the principal plants used in the practice of physic.

A modern English botanist is Marianne North, who has especially devoted herself to painting in detail the flora of tropical countries. Her collections include upward of six hundred paintings, each panel including six or seven varieties of plants. According to Sir John Hooker, it is impossible to overrate the usefulness and scientific importance of this collection.

In the adjacent branch of natural history we find the name of Miss Eleanor A. Ormerod as one of the eminent entomologists of the day. She is consulting entomologist of the Royal Agricultural Society of England. She has written a manual upon injurious insects and on methods of preventing their ravages, of which Mr. James Fletcher, Entomologist to the Government of Ontario, says: "The advance made during the last decade in the art of reducing the injury done to crops by insects is in large measure due to the talented author of this book."

Miss Mary Muretfeld of St. Louis has been vice-president of the Association of Economic Entomologists. Another female observer of note both in entomology and botany is Mrs. Mary Treat of Vineland, N. J.

In this connection should be mentioned Mme. Clemence Royer of Paris, born in 1830. In 1862 she made the first French translation of Darwin's "Origin of Species," accompanied by a preface and notes, which gave her an established reputation. Since this, however, Mme. Royer's work has been in the line of literature and economics, rather than in that of natural science.

One lady, Miss Alice C. Fletcher, has distinguished herself in a somewhat unexpected field as an ethnological student of our North American Indians. Her work has received practical recognition from the National Government in an appointment as Indian agent, especially charged with the assignment of lands in severalty.

A Russian lady, Mme. Ragotzin, is noted as a scholar in a still more abstruse branch, namely the science of Chaldaic and Assyrian inscriptions. These philological researches, however, lie outside of the sphere of physical sciences, concerning which alone this paper is intended to report.

The longest list of feminine names must be culled from the medical sciences. Since 1872 in America 150 written contributions to medicine have been made by thirty women physicians. Only a very few of these contributions, however, deserve to be called scientific, for they are chiefly

JOSEPHINE BATES.

ANNIE NATHAN MEYER.

CHARLOTTE EMERSON BROWN.

records of cases, or discussions on subjects from the purely clinical or empirical standpoint. The same remark applies, of course, to an immense amount of the medical literature written by men, only a small proportion of which is addressed to the solution of scientific problems, or is based upon scientific methods. Indeed the daily work of the physician is as yet far removed from that of the scientist in any department. Even biological sciences, upon which the art of medicine reposes, are most irregularly invoked in the actual practice of medicine, and really scientific habits of thought are foreign to the great mass of physicians.

Women who so largely enter medicine from the practical side necessarily exhibit this empiricism to an even greater proportionate extent than men. Still a few of the medical papers published are concerned with scientific problems rather than with purely practical questions. Among the 150 American contributions the following may be said to bear this character: An essay on basiliar kyphasis in relation to certain cerebral deformities, and some studies in sphygmograms, by Dr. Sara Post; a remarkable case of bilateral cerebral hemorrhage in a new-born child, by Dr. Sara McNutt; a study on myxedema, by Dr. Elizabeth Cushier; microscopical studies on hyaline placenta and on the uterine decidua, by Dr. Jeannette Greene; an essay on blood, by Emily White; studies in endometritis and a new theory on menstruation, by Mary Putnam Jacobi.

The number of women engaged in literature contrasts strikingly with the short list of women engaged in science. A volume entitled "Women of the Day," published in 1885, contains a total number of 426 names. These include writers, painters, actresses, and singers, and women noted for work in philanthropic and public enterprises. Only nine among them seem to have even touched upon scientific work.

This fact, however, is not at all surprising. Owing to the unequal rate of development which to the present day

has been permitted to women, the standard of education accorded to them has always been about an epoch behind that prevailing for men. Up to the present day, indeed, there has been absolutely no superior, or even common-sense, education for women at all. The few women who have nevertheless achieved intellectual distinction, have done so in virtue of immense native ability, which instinctively found its way, like Columbus, uninstructed, unpiloted, over unknown seas. At the most has been secured the personal aid of some relative or friend, and this as an offset to the violent opposition of other friends, or an entire family and social circle. Only immense ability is capable of achievements under such circumstances.

Enough, however, has been done to show that there is no physiological impossibility in scientific work for women. It now remains to insist more and more strenuously that the doors of the laboratory, as of the library, shall be thrown open to them; that early in childhood and during the formative stage of the brain's development a strenuous education shall be secured, scientifically planned to favor the maximum development of brain power; finally, that the love of knowledge for its own sake shall begin to be diffused more widely among women. Hitherto the love of knowledge has either been forcibly discouraged in favor of every other conceivable motive, or encouraged only so far as it may be made useful for practical purposes.

The latter, certainly, should not be neglected. But underneath all practical activities, even for such strenuous mental work as is needed for the practice of medicine, there should lie a broad and deep foundation of speculative work done by solitary students aiming at nothing but the discovery of truth. Until this becomes true for women as for men we can not expect from women the contributions to scientific thought of which they are intrinsically capable. Minds capable of constructive scientific thought are always in a very small minority -- probably must always be so — and it is probably true that the proportion of speculative to

practical capabilities is still smaller in women than in men. The immense middle ground, however, of observation and experiment, of work upon details destined to be used scientifically by some mind of superior scope — this sphere is already perfectly accessible to women, may be occupied by them most profitably, and they should by every means be encouraged to enter in and take possession.

DISCUSSION OF THE SUBJECT BY DR. JULIA HOLMES SMITH OF ILLINOIS; MRS. LEANDER STONE OF ILLINOIS; DR. MARY A. DIXON JONES OF NEW YORK.

DR. JULIA HOLMES SMITH briefly introduced the discussion as follows:

I should not be a Chicago woman if I allowed you all to go home after hearing only about English, Boston, Russian, and German scientists; if I should allow you to go home without telling you that here in Chicago we have one of the most noted of scientists, Emily Nunn, the wife now of Professor Whitman of the Chicago University. Her researches in biology are noted everywhere. Her contributions to scientific papers are of such value that she can command any price, either in America or in Europe, and we measure things here, you know, by the price thereof. I assure you that in the quiet laboratories of many a medical college, some of the very best work is being done by unknown women students, who are waiting until they die to be recognized by you and me.

MRS. LEANDER STONE, continuing the discussion, dwelt upon the difficulties encountered by scientists because of a lack of mechanical appliances, and by biographical references sustained the view that the advancement of the mechanical arts will facilitate the scientific researches of women to a proportionately larger degree than it will those of men.

DR. MARY A. DIXON JONES, succeeding Mrs. Stone, dwelt

chiefly upon the adaptation of woman, by both her delicate physical organization and her patience, to the minute and long-continued observation necessary to original research. She reported two discoveries as follows:

I am glad to report to this honored assembly that by microscopical studies I have made two discoveries in relation to cancerous disease.

First, as to the "small cellular infiltration" around a growth, which was recognized by Virchow, and which Dr. Charles Heitzmann, one of our most eminent living pathologists, said, in 1883, was the "pre-stage of cancer." In 1884 Doctor Heitzmann said: "Should the view be correct that this infiltration is the preliminary stage of cancer, etc." In June, 1892, I saw clearly that the inflammatory corpuscles of the "small cellular infiltration" around the growth were changing to cancer epithelia and forming cancer nests. So the small cellular infiltration around a malignant growth is not only the pre-stage of cancer, but is cancerous in its nature, and really forms part of the malignant growth. This fact is of great practical importance. It teaches the necessity, recognized by eminent surgeons, of carefully removing all the diseased tissue around such a growth.

Another discovery I have made in cancer is: I have demonstrated that the epithelia are conveyed by the lymphatic vessels to different and distant parts of the body, forming there new centers of infection. That cancer cells are carried by the lymphatics has long been supposed to be the case, because the lymphatic ganglia, in the neighborhood of the growth, were the first to become affected; but the process had never before been seen. This, so far as I know, is the first time the lymphatic vessels have been recognized distended with their burden of cancer epithelia and carrying the diseased germs.

Doctor Jones also discussed two diseases — endothelioma and gyroma — discovered in the course of her microscopical researches, and closed her remarks by describing certain improved methods in uterine surgery.

## THE MEDICAL WOMAN'S MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, TO JANUARY, 1893; REPORT BY DR. ELIZABETH GARRETT ANDERSON OF ENGLAND; READ BY CONSTANCE ELDER OF ENGLAND.

The movement in support of the admission of women to the medical profession began in England in 1850, when Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell of New York, the pioneer of the same movement in the United States, studied for a time in London at Saint Bartholomew's Hospital. Thanks to her having afterward practiced in England before the Medical Registration Act was passed in 1858, she was allowed to place her name on the British Register, and she thus led the way in England, as she had already done in America, in opening the medical profession to women. Doctor Blackwell returned to New York, and the seed she had sown lay for some years dormant.

In 1860 Miss Garrett, now Mrs. Anderson, began to study with a view to obtaining an English medical qualification. Miss Garrett made many efforts to get admission into one of the existing medical schools, but without success. In the end she obtained leave from the Apothecaries' Society — the only examining body willing to admit her to examinations — to get her education privately from teachers in the recognized schools. She passed the last examination at the Apothecaries' Hall in the autumn of 1865, and was then able to register herself as a legally qualified English practitioner.

Other ladies shortly afterward essayed to follow her example, but the Apothecaries' Society refused to admit them till they could go through the complete medical course in a recognized school and under the conditions laid down for men. As this was impossible in England, several Englishwomen went abroad to study, and graduated at Zürich.

In 1868 Miss Mary Putnam of New York obtained leave

from the French Imperial Government to study in the Paris Medical School, and to pass the examination, for the M. D. degree. Miss Garrett applied for leave to enter the examinations for the M. D. degree — of which there were six — without repeating the course of medical study at Paris. This was permitted, and early in 1870 she took the degree of M. D. at Paris, a few months before the graduation of Miss Putnam, to whom, however, the opening of the university to women was entirely due. Since 1870 many women have studied and graduated at Paris.

In 1866 a dispensary for women and children was opened in a poor district in London, and Miss Garrett was for some years its only medical officer. After a time the ladies who had graduated at Zürich divided the work with her, and the dispensary was converted into a small hospital. This has gone through various changes till it is to-day a very handsome and commodious building in the Euston Road, and is known as "The New Hospital for Women." For some years after Miss Garrett and her colleagues were at work in London the movement seemed to be at a standstill, except that a great number of poor women and a fair number of well-to-do women showed their preference for the services of the medical women by employing them. There was at this time no medical school that would teach women, and no examining board that would examine them.

In 1869 several ladies, headed by Miss Jex-Blake, tried for a long time to gain admittance into the Edinburgh School and Hospital. After a long and valiant fight, of which — in pity for the then conquerors — the details need not be narrated, the little band of women had to give up the struggle, and in 1874 they left Edinburgh. Miss Jex-Blake then came to London, and, finding there was no chance of getting into any of the existing schools, she and her friends decided to start "The London School of Medicine for Women," at 30 Handel Street, Brunswick Square. For sometime the teaching of the school was theoretical only, as it was not connected with any hospital or other place for

clinical teaching. The General Medical Council of England requires that a hospital recognized as adequate for the purposes of teaching must contain 150 beds, and must also be a general hospital, and not for women only; so that the new hospital, with twenty-six beds, worked by Miss Garrett and her colleagues, could not be utilized for school purposes. In 1877, however, an alliance was formed between the women's school and the Royal Free Hospital, which contains 160 beds, and since that time the students of the London school have enjoyed excellent clinical teaching and the sole use of a large and well-appointed hospital. About the same time one of the examining boards, that of the King's and Queen's College of Physicians, Ireland, decided to admit women to the examinations for its diplomas, and in this way the last of the initial difficulties was overcome. It had taken twenty-five years from the date of Miss Blackwell's visit to England to found a medical school for women, with the required amount of hospital practice, and with an examining board willing to confer on women a legal qualification to practice. In the sixteen years which have elapsed since 1877 much more rapid progress has been made. In the place of one examining body prepared to give women a diploma there are now six, and instead of one medical school there are now eight. Of these schools the second as well as the first owes its existence to the energy and courage of Miss Jex-Blake. Having started the London school, she determined to try again at Edinburgh, and after settling there in practice she succeeded in 1886 in creating the Edinburgh School of Medicine for Women, and in allying it with a large general hospital at Leith, which is a short way distant from Edinburgh. Three years later a second school for women was established in Edinburgh, and its students now enjoy that which was refused with so much vehemence to Miss Jex-Blake and her party in their original attempts, viz., a share in the clinical practice of the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary.

At Glasgow a handsome college known as Queen Mar-

garet's has been endowed by the munificence of a private lady, Mrs. Elder, and it has been incorporated with the university. Part of the infirmary has been assigned to its students for clinical teaching, and the medical examinations and degrees of the university are open to them.

In the four schools for women only there are now 242 students — 143 in London, 56 in the two Edinburgh schools, and 43 at Glasgow. There are, moreover, at Dublin, Belfast, Cork, and Newcastle four men's schools to which women are admitted, and in which seventeen women in all are studying.

The course of medical study in the United Kingdom now extends over five years from the date of registration as a student in arts. Latin, elementary physics, and geometry are compulsory upon all students before they begin the medical course. In the case of some of the examining bodies, *e. g.*, the London University, this matriculation or arts examination covers a wide range of subjects, and it is slight in none. The six examining bodies that admit women are the universities of London, Ireland, and Glasgow, the Apothecaries' Hall, London, and the united colleges of Physicians and Surgeons of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and of Dublin.

Over one hundred and forty-four women are now upon the British Medical Register. Of these many are in India, China, Australia, or elsewhere abroad, and about fifty are in London.

Mention has already been made of the new hospital for women, which in 1890 was moved into the large and handsome building in the Euston Road, London, which it now occupies. It has forty-two beds and a very large patient department. A considerable proportion of the patients admitted into the wards require serious operations.

The hospital has a staff of four in-patient physicians and surgeons, an ophthalmic surgeon, three out-patient physicians, three assistant physicians, and six clinical assistants in the out-patient department. During the past year there were 5,833 new cases and 21,866 attendance.

The expenditure of the new hospital last year was 3,460 pounds and the receipts 3,790.

An out-door maternity department has lately been started in connection with the new hospital, in which eighty patients have been attended, with no mortality. At Clapham, on the South of London, Dr. Annie McCall has formed a more important maternity charity, consisting of a hospital with a large out-door department. In the hospital 502 women have been attended, with no maternal death, and in their own homes 2,600 women have been attended with only one maternal death. Over three-fourths of all the cases admitted into the hospital have been primiparæ, all the consultants are women, and all the operations have been performed by women. As a few years ago Dr. Matthews Duncan estimated the ordinary mortality in child-birth to be, in skilled hands, as high as 1 per cent, the 3,100 cases treated by Miss McCall, her assistants and pupils, with only one death, is a most excellent record.

A provident dispensary for poor women and children has been for several years successfully carried on in Notting Hill by Mrs. Marshall, M. D., and other qualified medical women. A small hospital in connection with refuge work among young girls is also at work in the North of London, under the care of Mrs. Stanley Boyd, M. D., and is doing much good.

Medical women have hitherto been excluded from all the medical societies in London. There are, however, indications that this will not much longer be the case. The British Medical Association, to which Mrs. Anderson had been admitted in 1872, passed a formal resolution in 1878 to exclude women in future from its membership. Mrs. Anderson remained a member, but no other woman was able to follow her into the association. During last year, however, several of the colonial branches of the association petitioned to be allowed to admit women, and, the question being brought up at the annual meeting at Nottingham, a resolution to rescind the hostile vote of 1878 was proposed

by a member of the council, Dr. J. H. Galton, seconded by Mrs. Anderson, and carried by an overwhelming majority. It is hoped that this striking evidence of change of opinion on the part of the medical profession generally will lead in a short time to making women eligible for admission to all other medical societies.

In the meantime an excellent medical library and club-room have been organized for the use of medical women at the new hospital, where the leading English and American periodicals are taken, and where monthly meetings are held at which papers are read and discussed by the members of the Medical Women's Association. Many valuable gifts of books have been received. Medical women from America and the Continent are permitted to make temporary use of this room while in London upon payment of a small subscription. Application for admission should be made to Mrs. Marshall, M. D., 13 Upper Berkeley Street, London, W.

The review now made of the past history and present condition of the medical women's movement in the United Kingdom affords good grounds for encouragement, and though much yet remains to be done before women can be said to have completely overcome the prejudice against their engaging in a work of so much responsibility and difficulty as that of medicine, it may confidently be anticipated that they will at no distant date succeed in their endeavor, and that in doing so it will be recognized that they have done good service to the community at large, as well as to themselves.

## The Medical Education of Women in Great Britain and Ireland; Report by Dr. Sophia Jex-Blake of Scotland; Read by Constance Elder of England.*

The university that practically led the van in admitting women to British degrees was, as was perhaps to be

* The valuable appendix to this report will be found in the appendix to this volume.—[The Ed.]

expected, the University of London. When, in January, 1878, the question of the admission of women was brought by the senate before convocation, it was decided on the side of liberality by an overwhelming majority (241 to 132 votes), and the degrees of this, the leading university of Great Britain, have ever since been thrown open on equal conditions to all comers, as the rewards of academic merit alone; no longer to be regarded, as still are unfortunately the degrees of some other British universities, as a mere "appanage of the male sex." It is a matter of some interest that examinations are, in this university, conducted by papers marked with numbers only, so that examiners do not know the sex of the candidate; and thus the question of relative capacity for success has been for the first time tried before an inevitably impartial tribunal. It is at least worth notice that an analysis of the results given in the *University Calendar* shows that during the first five years (1878 to 1883) 7,208 men went up for the matriculation examination, and 3,712 passed, *i. e.*, 51.5 per cent; while 619 women went up, and 427 passed, or 69 per cent. Of course I would not for a moment argue from this fact that the mental power of women is superior to that of men (an assertion which seems to me just as absurd as its converse), but that the comparatively small number of women who take advantage of the lately opened door value their privileges more highly, and are more thoroughly in earnest in their use of them, than is the case with the average student of the other sex, for whom academic honors have always hitherto been arbitrarily reserved.

With regard to the colleges of surgeons, the final success was to be still delayed for some years. It was not till 1885 that the Irish College of Surgeons, under the enlightened presidency of Sir Charles Cameron, threw open its doors to women on the same terms as to men; and in February, 1886, the conjoint Scottish Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons took the same step. This action was singularly opportune in view of the passing of a new medical act a few months

later, which required a "double qualification" (*i. e.*, in both surgery and medicine) from all candidates for registration, and which therefore, but for the voluntary action of the Irish and Scotch colleges, would once more have excluded women from the register; unless, indeed, it had contained a compulsory clause requiring every recognized examining board to admit all candidates, irrespective of sex. Now, however, the requisite provision has been made by the wise liberality of the Scotch and Irish colleges, and it is left to the English Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons to remain alone "on a bad eminence" of persistent exclusion. It might have been thought that when, in March, 1886, these colleges asked a woman to lay the foundation stone of their new conjoint examination hall, it would have been a graceful act to announce that students of Her Majesty's sex would no longer be excluded from their portals — but this unfortunately was not the view taken by the learned bodies in question.

Until 1886 the London school afforded the only opportunity of medical study for women, and this fact presented very great difficulties to those residing at a distance from the metropolis, especially to Scotch and Irish students. In point of fact the number of Scotch girls who desire to study medicine is considerably greater in proportion to population than the number from either England or Ireland; and I can myself testify to the many applications I have had in past years from natives of Scotland, whose circumstances made it impossible for them to go so far from home as was then necessary, though they would gladly have availed themselves of more readily accessible opportunities. When, therefore, early in 1886, the Scottish colleges threw open their examinations and diplomas, it seemed of pressing importance that classes should once more be reopened in Edinburgh; and, after an interval of twelve years, this, I am thankful to say, was successfully accomplished in 1886. A first year's course was provided for women in Surgeon's Hall, and eight students at once took advantage of the

opportunities offered. These ladies, moreover, acquitted themselves with marked distinction; for the prize lists of the Extra-mural School of Edinburgh (published in the *Scotsman* of March 28, 1887) showed the very unusual fact that every member of the little class had attained a place in the honors lists. A small executive committee, consisting of members of the larger committee of the National Association for Promoting the Medical Education of Women, was constituted, and arrangements completed for the full curriculum of medical education; though, while the number of students is small and the funds low, some of the courses of lectures are, for the sake of economy, given in biennial rotation only. The authorities of the Leith Hospital most kindly consented to throw open their wards to our students, and arrangements for full courses of clinical instruction were made. Excellent premises were secured for the school in the historic precincts of Surgeon Square, comprising a circular lecture-theater seated for about a hundred and fifty persons, two large halls lighted from above, and other smaller apartments. Here, however, as elsewhere, we find the chief difficulty to consist in the provision of the sinews of war, and in the fact that, no public funds being available, every penny has to be obtained from the comparatively small number of those who are fully awake to the importance of the movement. In Edinburgh the number of wealthy friends is much smaller than in London, and we can not fall back upon the great city companies, who have on more than one occasion given generous aid to the London school. We live in hopes, however, that some enlightened Scotchman, or Scotchwoman, with equally large heart and large means, will come to our rescue, and enable us to tide over the first few years of difficulty, when the expenditure must necessarily exceed the income from students' fees. It is, however, somewhat unfortunate that the time of success should have been delayed by the unwise opening of some other medical classes in Edinburgh, at lower fees (and without access to qualifying hospital

instruction), which has split up the already insufficient number of students, and prolonged the period of dependence upon outside support.

Quite recently, in March, 1893, the final success has been won for the Edinburgh school by the consent of the University of St. Andrews to accept its classes as of academical value, to allow its students to enter their names as matriculated undergraduates of the university, and to present themselves for examination for its medical degrees. In fact, the school has now become an outlying section of the University of St. Andrews, and the battle that began in Edinburgh almost a quarter of a century ago has ended in complete and absolute victory, though unfortunately the University of Edinburgh has not done itself the honor of contributing to the final result.

In Glasgow the medical education of women has been taken up by the authorities of Queen Margaret College, which is fortunate in possessing considerable endowments, and by this means it has become possible to affiliate the women's school to the University of Glasgow, which examines its students and grants to them the ordinary degrees.

In Ireland all the examining boards, with the exception of Trinity College, are open to women; and women are also received as students at most of the schools, viz., at the College of Surgeons in Dublin, and at the Queen's Colleges at Belfast, Cork, and Galway. In all these cases their education is mainly, if not entirely, conducted in mixed classes.

It will thus be seen that there is now little difficulty in obtaining medical education and a registrable qualification in any one of the three kingdoms, and what obstacles remain depend chiefly on the fact that the medical schools for women have as yet received no share of public money, and that very considerable expenses have to be met entirely from private sources. The women who desire to study medicine are frequently unable to meet the cost of the five years' education now required, and the scholarships

and bursaries, which are available in such large numbers at the universities and colleges for men, are but slenderly represented in the women's schools. A few have, however, been founded in connection with the London school, and two in connection with Edinburgh. One of the latter is of special interest, as it is designed to aid Hindu ladies who may desire to complete their medical studies in this country, and one of them, Rose Govindurajulu, has been enabled by its means to come to us for a British education and registrable diploma.

At the beginning of 1893 the number of women who had entered their names in the British Medical Register amounted to 158, of whom nine have died since registration. About fifty are in practice in India and other parts of the East, chiefly as medical missionaries; some of the younger women (perhaps twenty) are still engaged in study at various schools and hospitals, chiefly on the Continent; and the remainder are in practice in various parts of Great Britain, more than half of these having settled in London. The number of posts thrown open to medical women increases every day, and the demand for their services in various directions is still considerably in excess of the supply. I have within the last few weeks had applications from three different quarters, viz., from Lady Dufferin's Association, from an independent post in India, and from a medical missionary society, and have been unable to supply any of them with the medical women they desired. From provincial towns, also, in England and Scotland come inquiries why medical women do not settle there in practice, and quite recently I was consulted as to the propriety of establishing a medical woman in a country village, for the benefit of the surrounding district, after the fashion of Dr. Rhoda Gale in Charles Reade's "Woman Hater."

The stringent regulations attending medical registration in this country, though increasing the difficulties in the first instance, have in the long run been of real service to medical women; as they have made it impossible that a num-

ber of half-educated women could foist themselves upon the public, and claim equality with practitioners of either sex who have gone through a complete curriculum. Some female quacks there have been no doubt, but the line drawn by registration is so sharp and clear that a very moderate amount of caution makes any deception on this head almost impracticable. Some of the medical missionary societies were for a few years somewhat ill-advised in this matter, for, finding it impossible to obtain a sufficient supply of fully qualified women, they committed the fatal mistake of employing a certain number of half-educated persons, who had gone through a fallacious "two years' course," but the results have been so far from satisfactory that the societies are now recognizing their error, and are recalling some of their half-trained women in order that they may be fully qualified, or that their places may be taken by others.

To sum up the preceding brief and imperfect sketch, I think we may now claim that the victory is substantially won all along the line; for it is the exception rather than the rule at present to exclude women from any examining board, and adequate schools for their education exist in each of the three kingdoms. In an appendix I submit a list of the schools and examining boards open to women, and also a list of those who, up to the beginning of the present year, have taken their place on the National Medical Register.

In conclusion, I trust I may be allowed to say that, as an Englishwoman who received a great part of her medical education on the other side of the Atlantic, and who has occasion to cherish very grateful memories of her American sisters — foremost among whom stands my late noble friend and teacher, Dr. Lucy Sewall - - I feel it to be a great pleasure and privilege to be allowed this opportunity of greeting the World's Congress of Representative Women at Chicago, and of touching hands of greeting with my professional sisters on the other side of the ocean.

REV. MARY L. MORELAND.

REV. EUGENIA T. ST. JOHN.

DR. MARY PUTNAM JACOBI.

REV. FLORENCE E. KOLLOCK.

REV. CAROLINE J. BARTLETT.

DISCUSSION BY MRS. ELLIS R. SHIPP, M. D., OF UTAH.

DR. ELLIS R. SHIPP, discussing the same topic, opened with a tribute to woman in the medical profession, her peculiar fitness to the work because of the gentleness, tender sympathy, kindness, and patience of her nature, and her unselfish devotion as the guardian of infancy and childhood through times of suffering, and even up to man's estate. Dwelling upon the divine mission and characteristics of motherhood, she adds, "Who is so well qualified to minister to the maternal pangs of woman as one of her own sex? And we aver that none are more capable of comprehending the great physical laws that govern procreation!"

The writer referred to the recognition of women physicians not only in enlightened countries, but in far-off climes, in China and Japan, where skillful surgery had secured to some in the profession world-wide honor and fame.

WOMAN IN THE PULPIT — ADDRESS BY REV. FLORENCE E. KOLLOCK OF CALIFORNIA (UNIVERSALIST).

Woman in the world is the product of the will of the First Great Cause. Woman in the pew is the natural sequence of woman in the world. "Woman in the pulpit" is the inevitable consequence of woman in the pew.

Logically, the power that gave woman being is accountable for the fact of her thought and her discussion upon questions relating to her origin, duty, and destiny. Theologically there is no responsibility in the case. Woman antedates theology, however, so before her mental and moral activities were prescribed we find her one of the active agents in awakening, quickening, and propagating certain religious truths; instrumental, also, in not only giving the world its great prophets, priests, and teachers, but

sustaining them in their efforts to fulfill the mission on which they were sent.

It was a mother's love and a woman's wit that rescued Moses from the hand of the slayer of the innocents, and so gave the Hebrew nation a leader, and all civilization a lawmaker. It was Miriam who prophesied for her beloved people, and told them of their coming weal and woe. Deborah, the Hebrew Boadicea, as Coleridge calls her, whose knee had not bowed to Baal — a woman of faith, courage, and patriotism — was given the high office of Judge of Israel, and at last became the military leader of her people; and how grandly the day was won, and Israel redeemed, the ode of Deborah triumphantly sings. The prayers of the once childless Hannah gave her despairing nation an inspired leader. Queen Esther and Judith were the savior and the avenger of their people; and so on through Hebrew history.

From the early dawn of the Christian era down to the present day woman has been one of the most potent factors in the presentation, growth, and spread of the new religion. The tenderest acts of service on the part of Christ were bestowed upon women — the unfortunate, the sorrowing, and serving. Through woman's wrongs, her loyalty, her sorrows, he taught the world the sublimest lesson of unselfishness, sympathy, and charity that the ages have ever witnessed.

Only through a woman's nature could these new principles of conduct be proclaimed to the world. The twelve were not more clearly called to preach the gospel than the "last at the cross and the first at the tomb" were ordained to speak — not merely of his gospel, but rather of him — of his power and compassion, of his wondrous love and illumined life. As example is more valuable than precept, the testimony of these women concerning Christ has been more valuable than all the recorded miracles of his ministry — aye, even than his sermon on the mount.

Other prophets and inspired teachers the world has

known before Christ's voice was heard in exhortation and prayer. But the world passed their words of wisdom by, and turned a deaf ear to their exhortation. But when the life illumined the word, and the spirit gave the letter its own invincible power, the teacher became greater than his lessons, and his simplest precept took a new significance.

Men were sent forth to preach his gospel. Women just as truly were given the higher, more valuable, more delicate mission of proclaiming him — his sermon to the woman at the well, his sympathy at the grave with the mothers and their children — to the unfortunate, the betrayed, the afflicted. And when the hour of agony had passed and the victory had come, it was faithful, loyal, and believing woman whom the angel met at the empty sepulchre, and commanded, authorized, ordained to "go quickly and tell his disciples that he is risen from the dead, assuring them that he goeth before you."

Later, while Paul was yet the fierce Saul of Tarsus, "persecuting the Christians even unto death," the "Marys and Marthas" were loyal to the teachings of the Master, and faithful, tender, and reverent to his memory; never betrayers of Christ, but always his friends; never among his persecutors, but always with the persecuted. Gifted with that fine spiritual insight that made it possible to recognize the authority of Christ, it is not strange that the records of the Christian church, from the earliest down to the latest, should be illumined with the deeds of heroism and self-sacrifice so freely performed by women "in his name." To a nature capable of this loyalty, and imbued with this faith, it was but in keeping with the inward impulse to impart it to others.

To every careful reader of the Bible it is a profound mystery from whence came that morbid and unholy sentiment that seeks refuge behind St. Paul, and interprets his "Women, keep silent in church," to mean "Keep out of the pulpit only." Sing in the church, pray without ceasing in it and for it — God knows it needs your prayers

— teach the young, form their theological opinions, awaken their spiritual nature; expound to them the doctrines of prayer, of repentance, of forgiveness; form their immortal minds for immortality — do all this and more; build churches, pay debts, educate young men for the ministry; turn, if need be, the church into a concert hall, a sewing-room, a salesroom, a restaurant, a bake shop; do all this, if need be, to raise money for church extension, for the Bible and tract society, for home and foreign missions; but do not preach for a salary, do not desecrate holy services by administering the sacraments of the church; for Paul said "Let women keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak."

Higher Biblical criticism and the better judgment of thoughtful men and women took this question under serious consideration, with such results as I am glad to place before you at this time in reference to the position of the various religious bodies in regard to the indorsement of women for the work of the church.

First, The Universalists.— In the year 1856 the Universalist denomination at Canton, N. Y., founded a college of letters and arts, in connection with a divinity school, known as the St. Lawrence University, and threw open the doors of this institution to both men and women on equal terms. The first woman who entered the theological department of St. Lawrence University was Olympia Brown, who entered in the year 1861, graduated in the year 1863, and was regularly ordained to the Christian ministry. Since the founding of St. Lawrence University eight women have been regularly graduated after pursuing the full course of study, six more have pursued special courses, and four are at present studying there. One of these will graduate next month.

In 1881 the Ryder Divinity School, at Galesburg, Ill., in connection with Lombard University, was opened to men and women on equal terms, and has had from one to three women students every year.

A third divinity school of the same denomination opened its doors to women last September—that of Tuft's College, Boston. Three young women immediately entered it.

As a result of this policy the Universalist Register for 1893 contains the names of thirty-six women, twenty-seven of whom are regularly ordained to the Christian ministry, while the remaining nine are licensed to preach by the ecclesiastical authority of the church, and will be entitled to full ordination at the expiration of two years as licentiates.

SECOND, THE UNITARIANS.— Women were admitted as students to the Meadville school in the year 1868. The present year three are in attendance. Up to the present time the whole number admitted is twenty-one. Of this number six graduated from the full course, the others taking special work. It is a fact worth remembering that the number of young men in this divinity school who have taken but a partial course of study is proportionately as large as the number of women who have done so.

Manchester New College, Oxford, England, is open to women, and in the first year has received three American women to its lectures — two Unitarians and one Universalist.

The year-book of the Unitarian church contains the names of nineteen clergywomen. The demand for them in both the Universalist and the Unitarian denominations far exceeds the supply.

THIRD, THE FREE-WILL BAPTISTS.— The well-known college of this denomination at Hillsdale, Mich., was founded in 1855. Its charter provides that "all persons, regardless of sex, color, or nationality, shall be entitled to all its advantages." The theological department was opened in 1878, admitting women on equal terms with men. During the last fifteen years twenty women have taken a partial course of study in this department. In addition to this number, six women have taken the full course and received the degree of B. D.

The theological seminary at Lewiston, Maine, in connection with Bates College, is also open to women.

In the Free-Will Baptist denomination twelve women are in full ordination, and fourteen are licensed as lay preachers.

FOURTH, THE BAPTISTS.— The dean of the divinity school of the University of Chicago, in answer to a letter of inquiry concerning the status of women in the ministry of the Baptist denomination, writes: "The divinity school, which is a part of the university, is under a special charter, obtained years ago. For the past twenty-five years we have been admitting women to all our classes."

They are not there by sufferance. The paragraph in the calendar on this subject is as follows: "Women are admitted on equal terms with men. They receive no encouragement to enter upon the work of public preaching, but on the contrary are distinctly taught that the New Testament nowhere recognizes the ordination of women to the Christian pastorate." I may say that seven or eight women are now regularly matriculated in this divinity school, preparing themselves, doubtless, for pagan pastorates, as it is the denominational policy of this church to recognize and encourage women as foreign missionaries.

So, while the "Christian pastorate" is kept in special reserve for the men of the Baptist denomination, the theological scholars will welcome to their halls and educate the women who will brave the perils of land and sea, of cannibalism and scourges, fevers and plagues, spiritual darkness and moral degradation, to carry the gospel of Christ to those who sit in darkness.

FIFTH, THE CONGREGATIONALISTS.— As the name implies, this intelligent and progressive body of Christian people are self-governing; therefore it has, in the question of the ordination of women, no fixed policy, but each church exercises such liberty in the matter as the majority of its individual body may choose. Hence we find some churches freely granting ordination to women. There are at least twelve women in this body enjoying the full ecclesiastical rights and privileges of ordination. Three

years ago the great theological seminary of Hartford was thrown open to women students, and a number availed themselves of the opportunity thus afforded. At present four women are pursuing a course of theological study there.

Oberlin College, in compliance with the terms of its charter, opened all its departments to men and women on equal terms. Antoinette Brown Blackwell was an early graduate of this worthy institution, and received ordination from the Congregational church in the year 1853.

SIXTH, THE PRESBYTERIANS.— This body ordains no women to the ministry, and has, since the day that Sarah Smiley preached from the Rev. Dr. Cuyler's pulpit, inserted a clause in its blue book prohibiting the ministers of that body from inviting women into the pulpit.

I could fill a volume with a statement of the work that this denomination permits its women to do out of the pulpit, in the way of money-raising, church-building, home and foreign missionary teaching, praying, praising; but all this is common to all churches.

SEVENTH, THE METHODISTS.— In October, 1891, the Wesleyan Methodists in council struck out from the discipline of the church the clause prohibiting women from receiving ordination in that body. Protestant and Primitive Methodists also have ordained women. The exact number who are exercising full ecclesiastical privilege in those branches of the Methodist church I have not been able to ascertain. That the church has taken this just attitude toward the women of its body is sufficient to command for it the highest respect and confidence of all who believe in the law of liberty.

EIGHTH, THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.— This great body of devout and earnest Christians has not yet accorded to its women the justice that many foremost in its ranks are demanding. For years their theological schools have been educating women, accepting their money and time, but the General Conference has steadily refused

to equip them thoroughly for the very work for which their theological schools were encouraging them to educate themselves. As missionaries, home and foreign, as thoughtful and scholarly preachers, as earnest and convincing exhorters, they have proved — until proof is no longer necessary — their perfect fitness for the work of the ministry; and they and the world are waiting for the General Conference to acknowledge the fact.

NINTH, OTHER DENOMINATIONS.— The secretary of the Women's Ministerial Conference reports the interesting fact that to the United Brethren belongs the honor of having ordained the first woman to the Christian ministry. The Rev. Lydia Sexton of Seattle, Wash., now ninety-three years old, was ordained by the United Brethren in 1851, two years prior to the ordination of the Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell. The Rev. Mrs. Sexton has been in active service in her denomination until within a few years, when failing eyesight compelled her to withdraw from active work.

Among the Friends, women have from the first taken the same rank as the men of that body. It is computed that more than two hundred and fifty women are to-day enrolled among the accredited speakers of this sect.

The universities of Switzerland admit women to lectures on theology, though not to examination. Germany has not yet moved in the matter.

That women are in the pulpit, and in larger numbers are going to it, is a fact. Women alone can account for the fact. They do account for it, as follows: First, moral influence has superseded physical force; we need not theology, but ministry. Second, the right to do a work is now determined by the disposition and the ability of the individual. Third, women possess powers, moral and spiritual, that make her a competent minister.

## Woman's Call to the Ministry — Address by Rev. Caroline J. Bartlett of Michigan (Unitarian).

It will doubtless be conceded that some one of the following propositions is true:

1. Woman is in her mental, moral, and spiritual nature substantially the same as man, and his equal; or,

2. She is, in these respects, substantially like man, but inferior to him, a "lesser man" so to speak; or,

3. She is in her mental, moral, and spiritual nature substantially different from man. (Whether his equal, inferior, or superior we need not now ask.)

Now, if woman is in her mental, moral, and spiritual characteristics substantially the same as man, and his equal, then she has precisely the same call as man to enter upon the work of the ministry, in which mentality, morality, and spirituality are the supreme tests of qualification. But if, secondly, she is substantially the same as man, but his inferior, how can the fact of her inferiority in any department be ascertained except by allowing her a free field, without favor or hindrance, so that she may demonstrate her innate inferiority, which the world is growing so skeptical about? It does not comport with the most advanced ethics that the stronger should deny the weaker a fair trial of their strength. It is too much for fortitude to be born neither free nor equal. The matter of equality can never be settled till freedom be granted, and then the law which governs "the survival of the fittest" will determine woman's lease of the pulpit as of all other mundane things. But, thirdly, if woman is in her mental, moral, and spiritual constitution substantially different from man, then by that difference is she unerringly called to the work of the ministry, whether the sum total of woman's gifts is an exact equivalent of man's gifts or not.

Humanity is made up of two halves, male and female, and it seems to me a self-evident fact that, if these two

halves of humanity are substantially different in their mental, moral, and spiritual traits, the one half can never fully understand, interpret, or represent the other half.

I wish to elaborate this third proposition, self-evident though it appears to me, because most persons who oppose woman's entrance into this and other fields which have been hitherto exclusively occupied by men do not, of course, do so from the standpoint of conviction that woman is substantially the same as man — nor do most of the opponents base their opposition upon woman's supposed inferiority — but the claim is made that woman, being essentially different from man, has a proper orbit of her own which must not impinge upon the orbit of man; and so she is shut out of participation in much of that work in life which affords the best self-development and the largest usefulness to the world.

But let us glance at the fundamental facts. Woman is first of all a human being; before she is a woman, before she is a mother, before she is a preacher, before she is a parishioner, back of all, and fundamentally, she is a human being. As such she possesses in common with man those traits which distinguish humanity from the lower animals — reason, conscience, sympathies, coördinating faculties, the desire and the capacity to help and to be helped by other human beings toward more ideal ways of life. Now let us dismiss the silly notion that man is all reason and woman all intuition. Both reason and intuition are human powers, and the man or the woman who is destitute of either is a defective human being.

Whether the difference between manhood and womanhood consists in the possession of some quality or qualities by each which the other does not possess, or whether the difference lies in the usual preponderance of certain qualities in the one sex and of certain other qualities in the other sex, still the two resultants are substantially, and let us trust ineradicably, different, so that the ideal humanity is not man and is not woman, it is both. And thus it is

that humanity, being made up of two diverse halves, needs to draw its interpreters, its teachers, its ministers from both, else the interpretation, the teaching, the religion must be warped, incomplete, ineffective, and not roundly *human*. Does that mean that a man and a woman should minister in each church? That would indeed be an ideal arrangement, and one, as you have heard to-night, not wholly unrealized. But it would not be universally practicable, nor is it necessary. There is another way of infusing the dual and complete human element into the religious life, and that is to get it into the fountain-source. Then it will flow through all the channels. What is the trouble to-day with the creeds from the tyranny of which so many of the churches are trying to free themselves? What but that they were formulated by one-half of humanity for both — the woman element was utterly ignored, the mother heart was not permitted to speak. Relentless "logic," which we say preponderates with man, was allowed full sway, without having first determined whether the fundamental premises upon which men built were in harmony with the thought of love at the heart of the universe. When women help to formulate the expressions of religious faith which contribute so powerfully to mold the religious life of those who subscribe to them, the church itself will be humanized; and whether it be a man or a woman who ministers from your pulpit, the genius of the church, the spirit of the religion taught, which is greater than the individuality of the minister, will be broadly and highly, strongly and tenderly, bravely and purely human and divine. But exclude woman from the pulpit and never will you have her unique and humanizing influence at the fountain-head. Nay, you degrade her everywhere. For what is the work of the ministry but to teach the art of life? What is the true church but the school in which we are to learn how to live and act nobly, purely, unselfishly, helpfully, day by day, here and hereafter? If in this school man is always the teacher and woman the pupil, if he must always speak and she listen,

if he must preach and she practice, what does not she and the world lose by this constant repression of her genius, this rejection of her point of view, this perpetual silencing within her soul of her divine call?

Moreover, nothing but woman in the pulpit can give her rightful place and dignity to woman in the pews, or woman anywhere.

And yet I would make no extravagant claim for woman as a teacher of religion. I would not say woman is so good, so raised above temptations that assail man, that she should therefore be the religious teacher. A class so good by nature that it could not comprehend or sympathize with the tempted — angels, for instance — could not much help the average man or woman with its preaching. We should be very apt to say: "You can not possibly comprehend my situation; you are too far above the trials, and turmoil, and the motives that touch me." I make no such plea of superiority for woman. When made it weakens her cause. We want in our religious teachers and preachers everywhere not mere ignorance of sin and sinful motives, but virtue which blooms from overcoming these.

And again, I for one should regret a great preponderance of women preachers over men preachers, even more than I regret the present overwhelming majority of women as teachers in our public schools; yes, as much as I regret that so many children are robbed of their full rights of paternal care and training, and are wholly dependent upon maternal influence. We all of us — men, and women, and children — need not only guardians, teachers, ministers who shall interpret and reveal ourselves to us; we need also those who shall reveal and interpret to us that other half of humanity with which, as husband and wife, father and daughter, mother and son, brother and sister, friend and friend, we are, to our blessing, inextricably commingled.

But to-day, while the present abnormal state of things exists in the church, I believe that the greatest need of the church is to be *mothered*. Until the creeds are humanized,

which were formulated by the early "church fathers" and by our Puritan forefathers; until the lost balance of religion is restored by the restoration of the *woman* element to the mutilated human and the mutilated divine; until the motherhood as well as the fatherhood of God is recognized by this world of self-made half-orphans; until these things be, the supreme call to the ministry that vibrates through the world to-day is to womanhood to give herself to the service of unifying and uplifting humanity, and bringing it up to the true knowledge and glad service of our Father and Mother God.

DISCUSSION OF SAME SUBJECT BY REV. EUGENIA ST. JOHN OF KANSAS (METHODIST).

We believe that woman's native intuition is as necessary in the pulpit as man's logical, reasoning powers. Reason has stood still and argued from cause to effect, and has asked these questions: "How shall it be done?" "Why shall it be done?" "Can it be done, and shall we do it?" Meanwhile intuition has made rapid transit across the pathway of reason; has probed the mystery, solved the question, brought the remedy, and when reason has come to its conclusion intuition is already at work at the business.

Woman is just as powerful with her intuition in the pastorate as in the pulpit. She can tell whether she can offer a morning prayer, or read a passage of Scripture, or sing a song, or say a kind word, or pat a little child on its head and gladden the heart of the poor mother as she goes in and out among her people. She sees the field as soon as she enters it, and meets the need by applying the remedy. If it is a business meeting of her church her intuition sees the crusty man that has come to break the harmony, and she uses a woman's tact to the overcoming of the stubborn nature, and anticipates him at every step. Therefore we find to-day that man is puzzled, in an executive body, how to handle the women preachers, while the woman preacher is delighted

at the way she is able to handle the body of executive brethren.

We turn, then, and say in conclusion that by woman's power of intuition she has been able to reach out in the line of winning souls to Christ continuously. It is said the underwork has been given us, but it has been given to us in discipline to prepare us to take the pulpit. Now we are at the foot of the cross, being taught by the great teacher, inspired with hope that we may be able to fill the place that God has opened, even broader than we had asked for.

It seems to me that intuition and reason have come to woman in the new era, and that she is not only able to exert her intuition, but she is able to reason, and the two faculties combined will make the perfect whole.

We find in the occasion of the hour only the sequel to what has been done in the past by the brave women whose voices we hear to-day, who have stood in the ministry for thirty-seven years, some of them without church orders; but, praise God, the orders are coming faster than we knew of.

### DISCUSSION OF SAME SUBJECT BY REV. MARY L. MORELAND OF ILLINOIS (CONGREGATIONALIST).

I am doubly interested in this point of woman's entering the pulpit. I can not imagine what could have been in the hearts of the brethren all these years to have closed the doors of the pulpit and said to woman: "You can come just so far and no farther." They want women in the services; they want them in the prayer-room, and in every department of the church, but not in the pulpit. I am more than interested when I realize what this congress is going to do for the churches of the different denominations. It may be possible to-night that some young woman is sitting under me that is thinking seriously of entering the pulpit. Many hindrances, no doubt, are placed before you; but let me assure you there is no chasm so hard to cross but that, if you have faith and courage, you can cross it. I

do not speak especially from an experience of hardship in entering the ministry myself. Years ago, in a little town in Massachusetts, I got my call from God, and I said to the old minister of my church: "I will not be a minister; I will not enter the ministry when men are opposed to it. I do not propose to choose a life of hardship." And so I put off the earnest call and went out into other departments of work. But one day, unexpectedly, it seemed to me that God again had led me out in spite of my wish or desire; and so the deacons of the church to which I had been called, said: "Miss Moreland, it is your duty to be ordained." And I said: "It is not; don't mention this matter; you will break up the church and spoil our meetings." I said I had never heard of a lady's being ordained in a Congregational church, but I found I was mistaken, for there was one before myself. That ordination was urged upon me, and the work of the pulpit became possible.

Objections are often presented to the ministry of women; but you know that women from the earliest centuries have served in every capacity and every department of life. How very strange to say that women shall not enter the ministry. The word minister means more than a mere leader. It implies that we must bear together all the service that may be placed on the shoulder of each individual. I realize that many a woman will be called into hard places, called to places where perhaps many temptations will be met, and she will say: "I must fail." But when those moments have come she should say: "I will not fail, because I am a woman."

It is becoming customary to ordain women in the Congregational church. Ten ladies have been ordained into our church, and I hope to see many more enter. Let us hail all the opportunities that may come; let us welcome the privileges God brings; let us no longer stand on customs of the past in questions of ministry, any more than in other calls of life.

WOMAN AS A MINISTER OF RELIGION — EXTRACTS FROM THE ADDRESS BY REV. MARY A. SAFFORD OF IOWA (UNITARIAN).

As that monarch of the forest, the oak, is the result of the evolution of physical life, so woman's place in the church as a minister of religion is the result of that evolution of spiritual life which will yet transform the world.

For centuries the power of church and state rested on human souls with crushing weight. Little hope there seemed that the sons and daughters of God could ever rise into the noble stature of a free manhood and womanhood. But the demand for civil and religious liberty grew stronger and stronger, and slowly but surely the divine right of kings has given way to the diviner rights of human souls; the authority of the priest has yielded to the authority of reason and conscience, until at last the world is awaking to the truth that every human being has a right to grow. Thus it has come to pass that to-day woman stands in the pulpit as an ordained minister of religion. The growth of civil and religious liberty explains her advancement in the state and in the church. As a part of humanity she has shared in its unfolding life. With the growing recognition of the worth of the individual, woman is coming to her own.

Vainly does the church attempt to stay her progress. At one time, armed with the power of the state, it could forbid her standing in the pulpit as a minister of the eternal gospel of truth, and love, and righteousness. Now it can only fling at her the missiles of ridicule and invective. No longer a child, woman claims the privilege of deciding for herself what is right. When told that woman is not fitted to preach, that it is enough for her to attend the weekly sewing society and embroider altar-cloths, she quietly answers: "You can not decide these matters for me. The right of private judgment is mine as well as yours, and I shall exercise it."

MINNIE D. LOUIS.
ZINA D. H. YOUNG.

ALICE MAY SCUDDER.
MARY LOWE DICKINSON.
ELIZABETH B. GRANNIS.

REV. IDA C. HULTIN.
ELLA DIETZ CLYMER.

In a word, while conservative clergymen have been slowly adjusting their spectacles to look up Biblical texts to be used as weapons against her, she has left them to their discussions of disputed passages and serenely gone forth to proclaim the living word of truth to the many who have gladly welcomed her as a true minister of God.

The eternal sanction for entering upon any good work is the ability to perform it. The questions, "Can woman preach?" "May woman preach?" which some well-meaning people are still debating with ludicrous solemnity, have been answered affirmatively, in the most convincing way, according to the scientific method, by actual experiment.

As Galileo, when ridiculed and denounced for declaring that all bodies fall equally fast, performed his experiment at the leaning tower of Pisa, by which he demonstrated the truth of his assertion for all time, giving to the world the first law of falling bodies, so woman, though told that she could not preach, has proven the contrary in a way that makes the arguments of her opponents amusing.

In the face of deep-seated prejudice and bitter, persistent opposition, she has shown beyond question that she is not only able to preach, but is also able to do far more — to endure the strain of long city pastorates and build up strong, growing churches. The place she holds to-day as a minister of religion has not been given to her; she has won it for herself, and holds it by right divine.

Doubtless the woman makes as many mistakes as the man in ministerial work. But despite the fact that the leading theological schools have been closed against her, that she has been compelled to labor under great disadvantages in securing that thorough preparation for her work which is essential to the highest success, she has already accomplished far more than could justly be expected, and the future is full of promise.

While ministering most helpfully to the deep needs of human souls, so far as her influence reaches, it tends in a special way to make religion less one-sided, less masculine

in some departments, less feminine in others, more human and divine in all.

While interested in theology as the thought side of religion, women do not emphasize it at the expense of right feeling and right action, but find God in all that liberates and lifts, in all that humbles, and sweetens, and consoles. To them the life is more than the creed; hence their presence in the pulpit tends to soften theological animosities and promote religious unity. Woman's fanaticism in the past has been largely due to her blind belief in the teachings of the church, which has presented religion from the masculine standpoint only, making it largely consist of intense devotion to certain theological beliefs.

But now the subject is also presented from another standpoint; and more and more, as men and women study side by side in theological schools, and work and confer together as equals in the ministry, religion will become less masculine in the pulpit, less feminine in the pews, more nobly human in both. Thus in its greater completeness it will the more strongly appeal to all human beings, and the churches will cease to be so largely composed of women.

The Roman Catholic church, by its exaltation of the Virgin, supplies the deep need of the human heart for infinite mother love; but those who would worship God alone must be led to realize that the Eternal is mother as well as father to all human beings; they must be led to see that the words, "As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you," have as deep a meaning as those other beautiful words, "Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him." We must do away with the exclusive use of masculine nouns and pronouns when speaking of the Eternal, that in the all-wise, all-loving one every yearning of the human soul may find fullest satisfaction.

Women in the ministry also exert a special influence in setting aside those offensive marriage customs which are

relics of a time when woman was really given away, was not recognized as an independent human being, but was transferred from the guardianship of her father to that of a husband. When entering into the most sacred relationship of life, where man and woman should stand side by side as equals, whatever detracts in any way from dignity and sweet sincerity should be put aside. The bride should not be given away, nor asked to promise to obey, for the promise if sincere means subordination, and certainly there should be no idle forms, no meaningless promises of any kind. The whole service should symbolize a voluntary, sacred union of equals; for in view of the subtle influence of outward forms upon human thought and feeling, whatever tends to ennoble the marriage service tends to ennoble marriage, and thus to uplift and purify humanity.

But while in special ways the influence of woman in the ministry constantly tends to remove long-standing abuses, to which in the very nature of things she is more sensitive than her brother ministers, her work in general is the same as their work, and must be tested, as theirs is tested, by its actual results. Since woman's civil rights are not yet fully recognized, her public ministry of religion might be suppressed by conservative clergymen were it not for that separation of church and state, that religious liberty, which has enabled her to win the place she holds to-day. For this reason, apart from all other weighty considerations, women make a great mistake when they uphold any legislation which tends to the union of church and state, which interferes with that religious freedom which by the constitution of these United States is guaranteed to all. When honest men are fined and imprisoned for refusing to keep Sunday instead of the Sabbath as a day of rest, when Government aid of a World's Fair is conditioned by a Sunday-closing clause, earnest, thoughtful women should utter a protest against such manifest injustice to those who do not hold the religious views of the majority.

There is no tyranny more to be feared than ecclesiastical

tyranny, and unless women are willing to be deprived of hard-won privilege, they must persistently oppose whatever tends in any way to destroy religious freedom. Vigilantly guarding that, they will be able not only to hold the place already secured for themselves as ministers of religion, but to make it a place of constantly growing influence; for the times are ripe for change. The world grows weary of worn-out creeds and lifeless traditions, and asks for something better. Men and women, who think and judge for themselves, demand a religion that authenticates itself to reason and conscience. Hence the minister who would meet their needs must be thoroughly alive, must be responsive to the best thought and noblest feeling of the age. Never was there greater need of a thoroughly equipped ministry, and women have reason to rejoice that those who enter it can not lean on external supports, but must prove their calling by their work.

In a ministry that must demonstrate its worth by what it does to help the world, woman need ask no favors, but may quietly go forward in the strength of the Eternal to accomplish all the good that her ability permits.

### DISCUSSION OF SAME SUBJECT BY MRS. AMELIA S. QUINTON OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Christianity reveals and emphasizes the relation of the individual soul to God, and it removes the obstacles made by sin between God and the individual. It bridges the gulf, and takes the man back to God. It does more—it works, not mechanically but chemically, for in giving the revelation, the vision of God, it inevitably turns fear into love; it reunites God and the individual soul. Religion can not do a higher work, since to see God is to see as God sees, and that is to act as he acts, so far as the human soul can do this. Thus, then, to unite souls to God is to do all of God's work for men.

Are women fitted to do the work of this all-including

ministry? What qualifications are necessary? Evidently one must be able to see and hear, morally and spiritually, and able to repeat after God his spoken thoughts to his children. Are women endowed with these qualifications? Are they the natural teachers? Ask history; ask even the dark ages; ask also the poets and the prophets; then let each questioner look into his own home, and into his own heart, and make reply. To ask the question to-day is to answer it.

If woman is qualified, is she called? How can one know? Again let us take the divine judgment. How can we know God's call, his purpose, his requirement of any creature? The song-bird sings. She can not help it. And the great creatures of the sea must take their place therein. They die if out of their own domain, as any soul does if out of God's plan. And all God's ministers must chant his love, for they see his presence and feel his touch, in places, in persons, and in principles, and they must repeat his thoughts after him. Are women thus moved? Let even pre-Christian history answer. Have women thus moved, thus inspired, men, and cities, and nations? Let dying martyrs and transfigured saints give reply. In the latest floodtide of the world's philanthropy and Christian work are women seen and felt? Let the overwhelming statistics of the last thirty years give the answer.

## CHAPTER VI.—CHARITY, PHILANTHROPY, AND RELIGION.

PREFATORY COMMENT BY THE EDITOR—COPIOUS EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES DELIVERED IN THE GENERAL CONGRESS BY JANE BANCROFT ROBINSON, MARY E. RICHMOND, CLARA C. HOFFMAN, LILY ALICE TOOMY, MINNIE D. LOUIS, AND URSULA N. GESTEFELD—BRIEF EXTRACTS FROM A DISCUSSION PARTICIPATED IN BY ALICE MAY SCUDDER, SARAH B. COOPER, LOIS A. WHITE, ZINA D. H. YOUNG, ELIZABETH B. GRANNIS, AND FANNY M. HARLEY—COPIOUS EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES DELIVERED IN THE GENERAL CONGRESS BY ELIVA ANNE THAYER, ELLA DIETZ CLYMER, MARY LOWE DICKINSON, AND REV. IDA C. HULTIN—COPIOUS EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE CATHOLIC WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT CONGRESS BY EMMA F. CARY, AND FROM AN ADDRESS PREPARED FOR THE REPORT CONGRESS BY MRS. HUGH PRICE HUGHES.

NO preceding chapter has so clearly illustrated the impartial character of the management of the great Congress as does this. The World's Congress of Representative Women anticipated the World's Parliament of Religions in bringing together, on the plane of mutual respect and sympathy, representatives of rival sects, nay, of antagonistic faiths.

While a majority of the papers setting forth the work of various religious societies will appear in the chapters devoted to Department and Report Congresses, the spirit of tolerance, nay, of fellowship, which characterized the Congress as a whole pervades this chapter, wherein are presented the aspirations and opinions, the history and hopes, of Jew and Gentile; of Catholic and Protestant; of the orthodox, whose soundness has never been questioned; of the heterodox, at whom a widening charity no longer cavils; and of the new heterodox, whose views are so recently formulated, or so vaguely shadowed forth, that they are still classed with vagarists.

The general tone of the addresses reproduced here, considered in connection with their respective authors, is most significant, and may reasonably be adduced in support of the following propositions:

*First.* Although not incapable of metaphysical speculation, women are by nature and by training practical; they measure a creed by its adaptation to human service.

*Second.* In spite of their conservatism and timidity, women are gaining rapidly "the courage of their convictions"; and their natural hopefulness, which some critics name credulity, induces in them an open mindedness which is the best corrective of excessive conservatism.

*Third.* The results of the higher education and of the spirit of progress are nowhere more clearly visible than in the modern methods of philanthropy. The educated, the progressive woman will remain devout and charitable. She will continue to be the loaf-giver; but she will read her Bible with a vision cleared by some knowledge of economics, and she will pursue her philanthropies in the light of a growing knowledge of science, sociology, and politics, with all of which she begins to see that philanthropy is connected.

The addresses of Mrs. Robinson, Miss Richmond, Mrs. Hoffman, Miss Toomy, Mrs. Louis, Mrs. Clymer, Mrs. Dickinson, Miss Hultin, Mrs. Hughes, and Mrs. Cary are reproduced almost entire. Mrs. Louis' paper was discussed by Mrs. Emily Marshall Wadsworth of New York, representative of the International Board of Woman's Christian Associations, and by Mrs. John T. Unger of Pennsylvania, representative of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Reformed Church of the United States; the discussion was brief, and incompletely reported, and is therefore omitted. From Mrs. Gestefeld's address about one-half is omitted, in order that the discussion of it, which was long, and representative of many lines of thought, might be inserted. In reproducing the discussion the intention has been to omit repetitions, but to give the main thought of each speaker.—[THE EDITOR.]

## THE MODERN DEACONESS MOVEMENT — AN ADDRESS BY JANE BANCROFT ROBINSON, PH. D., OF MICHIGAN.

The Revised Version tells us "The women that publish the tidings are a great host"; and what commentary the future is to give us upon that verse no mortal voice can at present foretell. But I design to limit our consideration to one phase of woman's work in the modern church which lies quite apart from any of the forms of woman's activities that are so familiar to us. Apart, and yet again near, because all alike relate to woman's helpful service and her interpretation of God's truth by god-like deeds. Yet this form of service has about it an old-time atmosphere that is in quaint contrast to the exceeding modernism of the age in which we live. In truth, it reaches back to the days of St. Paul, and curiously links the modern church with that of apostolic times. When St. Paul said (Romans xvi, 1) "I commend unto you Phebe, a deacon of the church at Cenchrea," he had in mind an individual filling an office precisely similar to that occupied by the deaconess in the modern church. The best German authorities are agreed on this point. Schäfer in "Die Weibliche Diakonie," Wacker in "Der Diakonessenberuf," as well as Fliedner himself, maintain that the office of deaconess, as it is exercised in the Protestant church of Germany at the present time, is essentially the same as the office known to the authorities of the early church.

It was in the fourth and fifth centuries that the female diaconate attained its highest importance. It developed especially in the Eastern church, for the customs of the country favored the seclusion of women members, and made it important that certain duties connected with baptism, the visiting of the sick, and the religious instruction of women be performed by women members who were deaconesses. As a consequence, the diaconate of women was known much longer in the Eastern than in the Latin

church, and traces of it were still found in the twelfth century, showing that it was a factor to be counted on for nearly two-thirds of the Christian era. As a distinct office it vanished during the Middle Ages, together with other important features of primitive Christianity. Yet it is a singular fact that occasionally the mists of oblivion are dispelled, and we catch glimpses of the office. This is especially true at any period of religious awakening. So we find some traces of a renewal of the ancient order among the Waldenses in the twelfth century; among the churches of the Netherlands shortly after the great Reformation, and among the Puritans of the sixteenth century. These attempts at the revival of the office, sporadic as they were, show that the conception of it still remained as a good to be realized. At the beginning of this century many thoughtful people were impressed with the importance of restoring to the Protestant church this arm of service of which it had been so long deprived. The cloistered nuns had replaced the apostolic deaconesses in the Catholic church, but since the famous labors of the great Bishop Vincent de Paul, that gave rise to the Sisters of Charity in the seventeenth century, the Catholic church had enjoyed many of the excellent features of the work of the deaconesses in caring for the needs of childhood and the infirmities of old age. Von Stein, the famous German minister of the early years of the century, had echoed the complaint of Southey in England, "Why can not Protestantism have its Sisters of Charity?" The answer was given by a humble pastor of an obscure village church in the little village of Kaiserswerth on the Rhine. The pastor was Theodore Fliedner, whose heart was early stirred to sympathy with the poor, the weak, and the erring. It was through his efforts that the first Prison Society was started in Germany. In his attempts to reform and aid discharged women prisoners he was led to an intelligent conception and clear conviction of the value of the services of Christian women. He determined to form a society of deaconesses. A physician's daughter gave her-

self as the first candidate, and a house was opened for the instruction and aid of the sick and friendless poor. The first patient was a Roman Catholic servant-girl. Such was the beginning of the deaconess movement of the nineteenth century. This was in 1836. To-day a visit to Kaiserswerth would be a revelation of the growth of the movement. Instead of the hired house, which gave shelter to the deaconesses in the days of the humble beginning, there is a fine building of vast proportions, the Mother House of Kaiserswerth, to which over seven hundred deaconesses, scattered throughout the nations of the world, look as to a veritable home. Connected with this is a building called the "Feierabend Haus," or "Home of Evening Rest," which is a home for those who have become infirm or aged in their self-denying toil.

There are various schools in which the deaconesses are given practice in teaching; an infant school or kindergarten, where, together with other instruction, great pains are taken that the stories of the Bible shall be told so as to make them clear and interesting to the youngest child. There is, too, a normal school, where deaconesses are prepared for all grades of teaching; an orphan asylum is maintained, where children of the educated middle class, whose fathers were pastors or professors, are received; while an insane asylum, built with every regard to modern scientific equipments, crowns an eminence just outside the village. Here only Protestant women are received, as, singularly enough, there are no questions that insane patients more violently wrangle over than differences of religious faith; but the deaconesses go forth to nurse equally patients of either sect.

At the hospital over seven hundred patients were received and cared for last year. The refuge for discharged female convicts, which was the starting point of the movement, still continues its good work. Over nine hundred women have been sheltered here, given an opportunity to turn to lives of virtue and goodness, and afforded every aid that true

friends could give them. A publishing house is also connected with the institution, which issues religious books and tracts. The institution had only existed a year and a half when some deaconesses were asked to take charge of a hospital in a neighboring town. That was the beginning of work in outside stations, so that now in Germany alone Kaiserswerth deaconesses are at work in twenty-eight different stations. But the most notable extension of the work is in Jerusalem and large cities of the East. The hospital at Jerusalem had five hundred patients last year, and over seven thousand outside patients were treated. There are also hospitals in Cairo, Alexandria, Beirut, and Constantinople. In addition there is a girls' orphanage at Jerusalem, another at Beirut, and prosperous girls' schools exist in Smyrna, Bucharest, and Florence. The homes of eastern lands are constantly being reached through the influences of these schools, and they already have had a perceptible effect upon the cause of woman's education in the East.

But what is tangible and apparent in the Kaiserswerth field of work is the least of its results. Its example has stirred the heart of Protestant Germany. Similar institutions have multiplied all over the continent and have marvelously prospered.

Deaconess institutions now exist in Switzerland, France, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Russia, Austria, England, and Germany, while the countries in which these homes have stations are literally too numerous to mention. Spain, Italy, Greece, Turkey, the countries of Northern Africa, and of Asia Minor, as well as isolated mission stations throughout the entire world, are now served by deaconesses. The institutions that are similar to Kaiserswerth unite with it in a general conference held once in three years at the little German village where the movement first began. At the conference of September, 1888, nearly sixty mother-houses were represented; and seven thousand one hundred and twenty-nine sisters were working in two thousand two hundred and sixty-three different fields of labor, distributed over nearly all countries of the world.

The deaconess performs her duties without fee or reward. This is a main feature of the system. She is not free even to accept personal presents, for in that case unworthy motives might creep in. The deaconess at Kaiserswerth receives from the institution her modest wardrode, consisting of a Sunday suit of dark blue, a working dress, blue apron, white caps and collars. She has also a small allowance of pocket-money. In case of sickness she is tenderly cared for, and when she becomes infirm or aged in the discharge of her holy duties she knows there is waiting for her a room in the House of Evening Rest, the home for aged deaconesses. A deaconess attired in her garb, with the peaceful, gentle countenance that seems distinctively to belong to her, is a pleasant sight constantly seen on the streets of German cities. Her deaconess' attire is not only a protection, assuring her chivalrous treatment from all classes of men, but it is a personal commendation that serves her well as an introduction to opening doors that would otherwise remain closed to her. There are two classes of deaconesses formally recognized — teachers and nurses. The training given to nurses at Kaiserswerth may be said to have transformed the hospital wards of Europe. It was at Kaiserswerth that Florence Nightingale received the preparation that enabled her to render such wise and valuable ministrations in the Crimean War, and to render like service to the hospitals of England on her return. On the battlefields of all the more recent European wars the deaconesses have been found caring for the wounded, ministering to the dying, taking messages for home friends, who otherwise would never know the fate of their loved ones. They perform their holy duties not from any outward motive or command, but from the impulse of the heart that genuine Christian love inspires.

Outside of nurse and hospital duties there is a wide range of activities performed by these devoted women of Christ's church. Some have charge of refuges for magdalens; others serve in penitentiaries and prisons, performing dis-

tasteful and difficult duties with patience and devotion. They do not shrink from positions of positive danger. The Kaiserswerth deaconesses have a right to be consulted before being assigned to cases of contagious diseases, but to the honor of these saintly women it can be said that no instance of refusal has ever occurred, no matter in what form of epidemic or pestilence the duty has been presented.

An important part of the deaconess' work is to serve congregations under pastoral direction. Deaconesses who perform this service are known as parish deaconesses, and their work is held to be the consummate flower of the service of the diaconate, as it approaches most nearly to that of the deaconesses of the early church.

In Paris, on the Rue de Bridaine, is located an establishment under the direction of the Calvinistic church of France, entirely devoted to the training of parish deaconesses. The older and larger mother-house is on the Rue de Reuilly, in the Faubourg St. Antoine, and is under the patronage of both branches of the Protestant church of France. It is situated in a portion of the city that has been the haunt of the turbulent and revolutionary ever since the days of the Fronde. They have under their care a school, a hospital, a reform school, and penitentiary, and from here the deaconesses go forth to the gloomy prison of St. Lazare, to have charge of the women in the Protestant division. The same story of patient love and ministration can be told of the French as of the German deaconesses.

In England the deaconess' cause is making notable extension. It has now a place of its own within the Anglican church, and outside of the London institutions has homes in the dioceses of Canterbury, Chester, Ely, Salisbury, and Winchester. Within the Established church, however, it is not to be denied that the sisterhoods have developed more prosperously than have the deaconess' homes. There are in England many independent institutions that owe their origin to the loving faith and persevering effort of individuals. Such are the establishments of Dr. Grattan Guinness

at Harley House in East London, the prison mission of Mrs. Meredith, and Doctor Lascron's Hospital and Deaconess House at Tottenham. Perhaps, however, in the United Kingdom there is no institution so widely known or so extensive in its beneficent operations as the Mildmay establishment in North London; outside of Kaiserswerth itself none occupies a greater field or is doing more to commend woman's work in the line of practical benevolence to the church.

In the German deaconess' houses the larger number of the deaconesses are from the social grade that furnishes domestic servants, although there are also among them ladies of education, of cultivation, and of better social position.

But the English deaconesses, in the large majority, are ladies of gentle birth and manners, often of noble families, who put aside lives of ease and pleasure to devote themselves to the suffering, sick, and poor "for the love of Christ and in his name." In the midst of the slums, the crime, and destitution of the most wretched parts of London, these holy women pursue their calling. The course of training is thorough and complete. Candidates are received the first month at the Probation House, that their fitness may be tested and that they may examine themselves as to their motives and the strength of their calling. Those who are retained are sent to the training-school, where a course of two years' training is generally pursued. Those who are to become trained nurses attend medical lectures and have hospital practice. In addition to the studies pursued it is expected that a portion of every day will be spent in practical work under the charge of an older deaconess. The Mildmay deaconesses, who are engaged in parish work under the direction of the clergyman of the parish, visit from house to house among the sick and poor, hold mothers' meetings, teach night-schools, conduct Bible-classes separately for men, women, and children; hold special classes for working-women and girls who are kept busily employed

during the day, and during the winter months have a weekly average of more than nine thousand attendants at their services.

They are solving the problem of "how to reach the masses" by resolving the masses into individuals, and then influencing these individuals by the power of personal effort and love. Besides the hospitals under their care, there are Convalescent Homes in the country, a Nurses' Institute at Malta, and a Medical Mission at Jaffa. There is also a railway mission for men on duty, and special work for policemen and postmen, besides other lines of useful work that we can not take space to enumerate.

From England the deaconess idea extended to Scotland, where it has found a secure lodgment in the old historic church of John Knox. With true Scotch foresight and prudence the committee appointed by the General Assembly spent nearly three years in studying the entire question of woman's work with reference to the church, and at last evolved a scheme which was reported to the Assembly in 1886, and after further consideration by the Assembly of 1887 was adopted and made a part of the organization of the church. The entire work of women in the church is divided into three divisions; the first and broadest is the Woman's Guild, that embraces members of Bible-classes, mission bands, school-teachers, and workers of whatever kind within the church. The next higher grade is the Woman-worker's Guild, into which none are admitted who have not attained a specified age and who have not worked at least two years with the approval of the kirk session. The third and highest grade is formed of the deaconesses who must engage to make Christian work in connection with the church the chief object of their lives, so long as they shall occupy the position of deaconesses. A Deaconess Institution was soon after opened in Edinburgh, and in the winter of 1888–89 three deaconesses of the church of Scotland were solemnly inducted into the office. By its action the Scotch church has formally recognized the deaconess

as an officer of the church, being the first of Protestant churches to take that measure.

A plan similar in operation to that of the church of Scotland was laid before the London Council of the Presbyterian Reformed churches last summer, and was commended to the churches represented in the alliance. Certainly the form of Christian woman's service embodied in the office of the deaconess is assuming an important place in the Protestant churches of Europe. Neither is it without influence in America.

The German Lutheran church, influenced by the example of the mother church in Germany, was the first to endeavor to introduce into America the beneficent services of women deacons. In 1849 Fliedner himself accompanied four deaconesses who came to serve in a hospital in Pittsburg. The work so begun did not increase. The sisters received but few additions. More recently, however, the erection of the Mary J. Drexel Home and Philadelphia Mother-house of Deaconesses has given a new impetus to the movement among the Lutherans. The mother-house in Philadelphia is strictly modeled on the German plan, save that the home is built with such magnificence and so provided with the comforts and luxuries of life that no other deaconess house can compare with it, not even the mother-house of all, at Kaiserswerth. But outside environment is but an incident; the spirit within is the determining quality; and the mother-house at Philadelphia preserves the features and maintains the spirit that constitute the value of the work.

In the Protestant Episcopal church of America the deaconess work was initiated at Baltimore. There are now two orders of deaconesses, and also different stations of work, although in America, as in England, within the Episcopal church sisterhoods are more influential and more rapid in their growth than are deaconess institutions.

In the Presbyterian church the question of the revival of the office of deaconess has already claimed some attention, and a prominent professor, in the theological seminary for

MARY E. RICHMOND.

REV. MARY J. SAFFORD.

JANE BANCROFT ROBINSON.

many successive years, earnestly recommended the revival of the office to the members of his classes at Princeton.

The Methodist Episcopal church has gone further. It has already taken action that places it first among the evangelical denominations in America, and second only to the church of Scotland in Europe, in that it has accorded to the deaconess a distinct status in the organization of the church. In May, 1888, the General Conference passed the measure that effected this result, and it is doubtful if any other measure taken at the Conference will be more far-reaching in its results than that which instituted the office of deaconess. The full and complete recognition accorded by the highest authority of the church commended it to the people, who have already shown a remarkable readiness to accept its provisions. Deaconess houses have already been started or projected in Chicago, Cincinnati, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Detroit, and many earnest Christian women have presented themselves as candidates.

Viewing the facts that have been presented to you, do they not awaken in your mind heightened respect for the aid that capable, devout Christian women can give to the religious uplifting of the civilization of our times? And is it not fitting that a world's congress of women, which concerns itself with a wide range of subjects touching the welfare of the Christian church, should give careful consideration to this phase of woman's work in the modern church? As ancient as the days of St. Paul, it is yet so modern that we in America are looking upon it as an innovation, and speculating as to its future.

It has a future; we may be sure of that. Firmly fixed in the working forces of the Protestant Episcopal church, and protected by its highest dignitaries; cared for by the German Lutherans in America with a generosity and magnificence that its fatherland can not equal; become a working power in the Methodist denomination, and recognized officially by the highest authority of the church; adopted already by the Presbyterians of Scotland and England, and

favored by men of influence in American Presbyterianism — the diaconate of women is bound in the near future to become a factor of church life in America.

## ORGANIZATION AMONG WOMEN CONSIDERED WITH RESPECT TO PHILANTHROPY — ADDRESS BY MARY E. RICHMOND OF MARYLAND, READ BY HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON OF OHIO.

A word first of all with regard to organization in philanthropic work, leaving women out of the question. Religion and education, between which philanthropy has its logical place in this programme, have been recognized always as great organizing forces in human development. It is only very recently that philanthropy has deserved to be so recognized. Tradition and a perverse interpretation of detached scriptural texts seemed to have established a permanent lawlessness in the region of charity, and every man did, in alms-deed, what seemed to him right in his own eyes. Love is not in itself a disorganizing force, and yet the expression of it has been placed more and more, as civilization advanced, under restraints the most sacred and inviolable. That particular form of love which we call, for lack of a better name, "philanthropy" needs, like all other forms, to be strengthened and deepened by restraint, by enlightened self-denial, by coöperation, by organization. In what follows I am compelled, for lack of time, to take the value of such coöperation and organization largely for granted.

In casting about for the causes which have broadened women's charitable activities, one of the most important seems to me the new classification of charities — a classification which will be a distinguishing mark of the century so rapidly drawing to a close. Within these hundred years, for the first time in human history, the criminal, the prostitute, the insane, the vagrant, the idiotic, and all other

defective classes have become objects of care and solicitude, not only to the individual philanthropist, but, through him, to the State. In the most civilized communities there are still survivals of our old carelessness and inhumanity, but these survivals are doomed. With this tendency to include many things in the list of charities which were not before so classified, has appeared a counter tendency to exclude a large class of the higher educational charities — to call them charities no longer. Now, they resent, and rightly resent, this classification. Many of the higher forms of helpfulness will not allow the word "charity" to be associated with their work.

But the new dispensation has included on the one hand far more than it has excluded on the other; and this inclusion has multiplied many-fold the number of new institutions and the sum of public and private charitable expenditure. The increasing complexity of our charitable system brought about an artificial division of labor between the sexes. Men monopolized official and impersonal service, women cared for the private and more personal side of the work. For many years the women of our country contented themselves with private efforts in homes for children, in hospitals, and in relief societies. In some States this still is all that they attempt to do, and even here their work is supplemented frequently by "advisory boards" of men, who take charge of the financial investments, and lend to the institutions an air of respectable solidity.

This is a transition stage. Advancing civilization demands that official charity shall become more and more personal; and the increasing responsibilities placed upon them require, on the part of our private charities, more practical and business-like methods. Individual women like Dorothea Dix, Josephine Shaw Lowell, and Katie Fay, who concerned themselves with the larger issues of official relief, not with the aim of "advancing the cause of women," or with any aim, however worthy, which was aside from the main issue of effecting the specific reforms which they

had in view — individual women like these have proved, with single-hearted devotion, their ability to administer public charitable trusts. Such examples were instructive, and as other women showed a devoted interest in the work, they were appointed in a number of States to official positions which gave them a voice in the management of public institutions for women and children. The higher education of women is destined to play an important part in the future of public and private charities. Charitable work in the future will demand a trained mind and an intimate knowledge of social science and economics. Good intentions are no longer the only essential of philanthropic leadership; in this, as in all departments of serious work, the best of good intentions will not be good enough until we have patiently learned before we attempt to teach. The social science departments of our universities offer to women the best possible training for a useful and honorable career.

Two years ago a committee of the National Conference of Charities and Correction — a gathering where women have received equal recognition with men for twenty years — sent letters of inquiry to all the States and Territories about the philanthropic work of women. From the replies received I gather the following facts: In six States women serve with men as members of State boards of charities, having supervision of State charitable institutions; in eleven States women have a semi-official recognition, being appointed by the legislatures or the courts to visit and report upon certain institutions; in fifteen other States women are reported as taking a very prominent part in the administration of private charities; in eleven States their administrative functions, both private and public, are reported to be very limited.

The line of probable development is indicated by these returns. It must be a question of only a little time when women will be actively engaged in every department of charitable activity, and not even a special tag can then indi-

cate what percentage of the glory is theirs in a work done side by side with men. In the South, where their progress has been most tardy, they are beginning to take a more intelligent interest in problems of pauperism and crime. The existence in any community of a group of women who care intensely to make things better, and who know how to do so, will bring them their opportunity. The true *open sesame* for women everywhere, as it seems to me, is simply this, "I am ready."

Are women to have any monopoly of philanthropy in the future? By no means. The division of labor will no longer be a question of sex, but of capacity. I know men, and am proud to know them, who think it only a small part of their duty as citizens to sit upon boards and vote away charitable cash; who are not content when they have sent their checks upon the bank to the various charities in which they are interested; but who contrive to take some time from busy days for personal service in the homes of the needy; who know and care for individual cases of weakness, temptation, and misfortune. If we have ever believed that it was woman's peculiar function to be a ministering angel, we have learned better. Men of the younger generation in our large cities are realizing more and more the pressing need and the privileges of personal service.

There is always danger that women may hope for larger results from the more attractive, "poetic" charities, as some one has called them, than the facts warrant. The vicious and the idle were too long neglected for the more lovable classes of dependents; and one can not put too great emphasis upon the importance of prompt and thorough treatment of neglected evils which are a continual menace to society. All the wisdom of men and women both is needed to cope with the difficulties of institutional life and management. Wherever imbecile women are allowed to become mothers in our almshouses, we need both men and women — the wisest and most devoted — to prevent this crime. Wherever vagrants are permitted to

use our poor-houses as temporary retreats to recover from one debauch before beginning another, we need both men and women to enforce compulsory educational work. Wherever juvenile reformatories, so called, are made the feeders of our prisons, we need both men and women to reform these reformatories. Wherever little children are kept in large institutions until they become hopelessly unfit for the battle of life, we need both men and women to place them in country and childless homes, where their young lives may be replanted in a healthful soil.

### THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED — ADDRESS BY CLARA C. HOFFMAN OF MISSOURI.

The world has always confused philanthropy with charity. Charity is the act of giving; philanthropy is the act of love; of seeking to do good to the individual, and to the whole race to which each individual belongs. Charity is the giving of a loaf of bread to the hungry; philanthropy is the teaching the women how to make the bread, provided the men have earned the wheat to make it with. Philanthropy is deeper, brighter, richer, and higher than charity. If the millions of dollars and the years of labor that have been given to works of charity had been given to the broader and more Christian work of elevating humanity, and broadening their ideas, and teaching them how to do for themselves, the world would be better off to-day than it is. Again and again have the nerves of self-respect and of self-support been cut by the large outlay for charity in the great city — an outlay which amounts to millions, and does not benefit humanity beyond the present hour. We are to talk about the value of organization in promoting philanthropy. I want to say there can be no doubt in the mind of any sensible man or woman that organization advances any cause. I shall illustrate by speaking of an organization that has not appeared as prominently as it would have done if our

beloved chieftain, Frances E. Willard, had been here. We can benefit humanity best by teaching humanity to live rightly. It was Oliver Wendell Holmes who said that if a man wanted to be born right he had to begin two hundred years back. I think, if you want to promote the cause of humanity, you have to begin, at least, with the children. We must teach the children to come up into sober, earnest, honest, and thrifty manhood and womanhood, and then we shall not so much need all the display of philanthropy that we have. The organization I am always proud to represent, the Woman's Christian Temperance Association, struck the key-note in the kindergarten system that they have been establishing in all our cities. They teach the little girls the very things they must do in domestic life — to sweep, to make bread, to lay the table, to cook beefsteak. Many men get drunk because they never have any decent cooking; there is no doubt about it. But it is not the wives' fault that they do not have their meals well cooked. How can the wife cook meat or bake bread well when she has never been taught the art? And especially how can she do it when she has to spend the most of her time trying to make a living, just as the husband does? Reform in these things can not be accomplished except by organization. No one society can do it. It must be a great organization spread over the country. It must be given prestige by women of culture and women of standing.

We struck the key-note again when, in thirty-eight States and all the Territories, we succeeded in compelling by law the education of children in the effects of alcohol and narcotics upon the human system, laying a foundation there that could be laid only through organization. No single society, no woman, no matter how conscientious and earnest, could have accomplished it; it required a great national organization of women.

## THE ORGANIZED WORK OF CATHOLIC WOMEN — ADDRESS BY LILY ALICE TOOMY OF CALIFORNIA.

The purpose of this paper will be to consider the organized work of Catholic women in respect to religion, philanthropy, education, moral reform, and political liberty.

In considering these various departments of woman's labor, each branch of work leads into and is the forerunner of the next, its natural successor, thus forming a chain of evolution full of suggestive thought to the student of sociology.

In the early ages of the church there were no public or State institutions of charity, such as almshouses, hospitals, orphan-asylums; all these were the work of the church and of religious houses. Throughout all the centuries until our own, almost all the work of women in organizations was carried on in cloisters. These places of seclusion and protection were made necessary by the turbulent and warlike spirit of the ages in which most of these associations of women were founded. Hundreds of Catholic sisterhoods having various benevolent works for their object grew up and flourished in the early centuries after Christ. Many of these organizations, such as the female Templars, and other orders of women who followed the Crusaders, to nurse the sick and wounded, have ceased to exist with the need for their work; but hundreds of these societies continue to-day among us, though comparatively unknown. Such is their spirit of humility and self-abnegation, that these noble women are reluctant to have the world know of their devotion to the service of others. There is no kind of loving service among the poor, the sick, the aged, the homeless, which is not the life-work of many organizations of Catholic women.

Until the sixteenth century all European civilization was Catholic; hence all the work of women in organization was the work of Catholic women.

Early in the seventeenth century was founded an organization of women which is to-day one of the most extensive and widely known among societies of Catholic women. In 1630 Louise le Gras, a devout young widow, under the direction of the noble-hearted Vincent de Paul, the Father of the Poor, founded the Sisters of Charity. In this, as in all Catholic sisterhoods, the members voluntarily bind themselves to their order by vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, either made for life or renewed at intervals. By these vows these women give up all that, from our worldly standard of the independence of the individual, we call happiness in this life. They voluntarily renounce wealth, home, position, friends, and family, all to serve God and his needy suffering children. Perhaps the hardest thing in the life of the religious orders is the complete surrender of the will in obedience to those placed in authority. In each country, State, or province there is a head, or mother house, whence are sent out missions, or colonies of sisters, to establish branch houses wherever necessity calls them. The government of these sisterhoods is that of a republic, the superior, or mother-general, being elected for a term of years by the whole community. Implicit and prompt obedience to the superior, as to the voice of God, is the magic power which controls these vast organizations of women. Every hour of the daily life of the average religious sisterhood, from half-past four or five in the morning until eight or nine in the evening, is spent in continuous hard work, lightened by an hour's recreation after the midday meal and another hour's recreation in the evening. We, in the world, can form no idea of the heroism of these sisters, who for the love of God give their whole life to this service. One of the chief works of the Sisters of Charity is the care of the sick in hospitals.

Of organizations of Catholic women who devote themselves to the nursing of the sick there are more than thirty in the United States. In one of our large cities alone there are twenty-three orders of Catholic women, each having

one or more establishments for the care of the sick. There are more than three hundred hospitals in this country entirely under the charge of Catholic sisterhoods. Several organizations of women, such as the Sisters of *Bon Secour* and the Little Sisters of the Assumption, devote themselves to nursing the sick in their own homes.

The Sisters of Charity and several other orders of Catholic women take care of foundling asylums. The sisters who devote themselves to the service of the "least of these little ones" give their adopted children all a loving mother's care and devotion. At six or eight years of age each child is adopted into a good Christian home, and the sisters' work is done. The sisters have a kindergarten connected with the foundling asylum, and usually, also, a maternity hospital. There are between three hundred and four hundred foundling and orphan asylums in the United States under the charge of Catholic sisters.

A more advanced stage of the foundling asylums is the protectory, or industrial schools, which are also the work of Sisters of Charity. Some estimate may be formed of the membership of this order when it is stated that in New York State alone they number over two thousand five hundred. At the protectories, or industrial schools, are received orphans, foundlings, and the children of parents unfitted to take care of them. These boys and girls are received in every stage of depravity and disease. Under a system of moral and physical cleansing and training, these children are brought up to be good and useful citizens. In the boys' department is taught every branch of mechanical work and trade, from shoemaking to engineering. The girls are trained in household work, and are taught dress-making, glove-making, stocking-making, typewriting, etc. So that when, at the ages of eighteen or twenty, these young people are sent out into the world, and are given positions in shops, factories, and offices, they are able to earn their own support.

One of the most beautiful works of philanthropy is that

of providing homes for the aged poor. The Little Sisters of the Poor, in their homes for the aged, shelter and care for all who come to them, regardless of nationality, creed, or color. The life of the Sisters of the Poor is a daily martyrdom. They support their aged charges by what they beg from door to door in the form of broken food and cast-off clothing. By their wonderful French economy and management they are able to set an excellent table from the refuse food they are given.

Besides the special organization of Catholic women for the care of the aged, the Grey Nuns, the Sisters of Mercy, and many other associations support the aged poor. The Sisterhood of Saint Francis was founded many centuries ago by its holy patron, St. Francis of Assisi. Among the many beautiful works to which they devote themselves — such as the care of hospitals for the deaf and dumb, the blind, and the insane — is the care of the lepers. There are many hundreds of these sisters in this country. The Order of Grey Nuns is the oldest organization of Catholic women in America. The Grey Nuns were established in Montreal one hundred and fifty years ago, their work being the care of aged men and women, invalid soldiers, incurables, orphans, and magdalens. The Sisters of Saint Francis and the Grey Nuns, following the example of the sainted Father Damien, are indefatigable in their efforts to relieve the suffering of the Hawaiian and the Canadian lepers. The sisters establish schools, hospitals, asylums, and homes, and give the tenderest care to their charges, inevitably falling victims themselves sooner or later to the loathsome disease, through their self-imposed martyrdom. Truly are these sisters disciples of the great Teacher who said, "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friend."

There are several organizations of Catholic women who devote themselves to the care of the blind and the deaf-mutes. Notable among these orders is a society of lay women known as the Nardins, so called from their founder,

Ernestine Nardin. These women make a special study of the physical and mental peculiarities of the blind and the deaf-mutes. The Nardin ladies establish homes and schools where the boys are taught printing, tailoring, shoemaking, carpentering, baking, and gardening. The girls are instructed in dress-making, hand and machine sewing, and housework.

A beautiful philanthropic work is that of the Young Ladies' Charitable Association. In one of our large Eastern cities the organization numbers over one thousand members, who, by a monthly subscription of ten cents each, are able to maintain the Free Home for Consumptives, and to give their patients every care and comfort. Besides the Home, the association conducts diet kitchens in poor quarters of the city, where the sick poor are daily supplied with milk, beef-tea, eggs, and delicacies. The city is districted, and a band of twenty or thirty young ladies has charge of each district. Consumptives are placed in the home; and patients with other diseases are supported in the general hospitals. Every week each district band takes its turn in caring for the patients at the Home, in amusing them and reading to them, and in providing them with fruit, flowers, and delicacies. Patients are admitted to the Home regardless of creed or color, and may be visited at any time by clergymen of their own choice. The only qualifications for admission are poverty and consumption. A matron and trained nurses are in charge of the Free Home for Consumptives, and connected with it are a children's library, a working-girl's club, and an employment bureau.

In the United States there are more than fifty orders of Catholic women devoted to education. The numbers of women in these orders may be counted by the tens of thousands. In most of our cities there are from five to twenty of these orders of women, each having one, or perhaps half a dozen, educational establishments. Each of these associations of Catholic women undertakes some especial training or is suited to some particular need. There are about four

thousand six hundred schools in the United States under the charge of Catholic sisters. There are half a dozen organizations devoted to the teaching of the Indians and the Negroes. Notable among these is the Order of the Blessed Sacrament, recently established by Katharine Drexel of Philadelphia, to which she has devoted her life and large fortune. The sole purpose of Miss Drexel's order is the instruction of the Indians and Negroes. The foundation house of the Order of the Blessed Sacrament is near Philadelphia. Mother Drexel proposes to establish branch houses throughout the South and West wherever such schools are needed. Many other orders are also carrying on this work with great success. Notable among them are several orders of colored women, such as the Sisters of Providence and of Saint Benedict. Saint Frances Academy, Baltimore, is a school for colored girls conducted entirely by colored women.

To give an account of the almost numberless educational organizations of Catholic women would be tedious. A few of the leading teaching orders will serve as types of the others.

Probably the first society of Catholic women bound by their rules to the work of educating the young was the order known as the Ursulines. This sisterhood was founded in the latter part of the fifteenth century by a young Italian maiden, Angela Merici. The disturbed conditions of those times made it dangerous, if not impossible, for women to go about, manage affairs, or mix with the world, unless under the protection of father, husband, or brother. Hence arose the cloister, and naturally most of the orders of Catholic women founded during the Middle Ages were cloistered or inclosed societies, whose rules forbade them to leave the inclosure of their convent.

Such cloistered orders were the Visitation Nuns, founded in 1600 A. D., by a pious young widow, Jane de Chantal; and the Presentation Nuns, established in the early part of the eighteenth century by an Irish lady of wealth and position, Nano Nagle, who saw the disastrous effect of the "Penal

Laws" on the people of her beloved country, and formed the order of Presentation Sisters to carry on schools for the poor. The School Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur were founded in France in the sixteenth century, also for the purpose of teaching the poor. Another long-established order is that of the Sisters of Saint Joseph, who number over two thousand in this country. Two other organizations widely and favorably known in this country are the Sisters of the Holy Cross, of whom there are one thousand five hundred members, and the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur, who number more than three thousand in the United States. Both of these orders were founded in France, in this century, and have adapted themselves to the wants and conditions of our day. In all of the academies or parish schools under the charge of any of these teaching orders, the most careful attention is given to the mental, moral, and physical training of the children. Visiting one of the many thousand of these educational establishments, one is struck by the spirit of love and harmony, and by the admirable discipline.

Before bringing this paper to a close, some mention should be made of the extraordinary work accomplished in the moral reform of fallen women by the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, an order founded at Caen, France, three hundred and fifty years ago.

The sisters use no compulsion in dealing with their charges; the whole relation is that of love and confidence. They seek to carry out in their work the spirit of our divine Saviour toward Mary Magdalen. In the industrial schools the sisters teach the fallen women and girls trades and handicrafts, to enable them to earn their own support in honesty. Above all, the sisters seek to teach these women the principles of virtue, and that true self-respect which comes from the consciousness that life holds for them unlimited possibilities in careers of purity and integrity.

I should like to say a few words about the great good work that is accomplished by the Sisters of Mercy and

other organizations of Catholic women in visiting jails, penitentiaries, hospitals, reform schools, etc.

In the limited space of this paper I have been able to make only the briefest mention of a few out of the thousand works of religion, philanthropy, education, moral reform, etc., carried on to-day by organizations of Catholic women.

Whole volumes might be written on any one phase of these works of benevolence. Gradually the world is learning what it owes to the Catholic church and to the work of Catholic women.

## Woman's Place in Hebrew Thought — Address by Minnie D. Louis of New York, the Representative of the Hebrew Women of America.

In the Hebrew cosmogony, the world was incomplete without woman; with her creation her organic equality with man was at once assured. As soon as she had shown her ingenuous desire that they should "be as gods, knowing good and evil," had fearlessly sought knowledge at the threatened sacrifice of life, and had generously made the man share with her what she had found so good and pleasant, she was accorded a higher plane, and was acknowledged "the mother of all living;" the mother of all the quickening powers of mind and body; the maternity-element in all that lives; she is recognized in this "philosophic legend" as the divining, exploring, discriminating component of the universal mind.

In verification of these statements, the Hebrew fathers, in their narration, present her as an integral part of their plan; not an accessory, but a prime force, not directing, but shaping in her intuitions the development of that mission for which they felt themselves chosen. In the pictures of patriarchal life drawn by the Scripture writers, without bias of praise or censure, we feel that the accomplishment of the divine promise to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob was

ascribed by them as much to the sagacious insight of their women as to the rigid obedience of the patriarchs themselves to Jehovah's commands.

The Mosaic code, which by common consent has anticipated the thought and experience of mankind by many centuries, and is surely not antiquated even to-day, has bestowed equal rights and imposed equal duties on women with men, wisely, however, regarding the necessary and salutary boundaries of the sexes. No woman who impresses upon her child the commandment, "Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee," can for a moment doubt her allotted place on the universal dais. Side by side she rules with man, side by side she shares his dignity and his honor. And from the sanctity with which the Hebrews invested the function of mother was doubtless developed, in later times, that aureole that was made to encircle the head of the Jewish woman Mary, the Mother of Jesus.

Woman took no part in the priestly services, as the laws for purification debarred her from continual entrance into the sanctuary; but this did not interfere with her privilege to study the law, to prophesy, and even to administer the civil government. And never did queen or empress rise to higher eminence than Deborah, who dwelt under a palm-tree in the mountain of Ephraim, and to whom the children of Israel came for judgment. And in the days of King Josiah, when the admonitions of strange gods had supplanted the worship of the God of Israel in the land, when no man could explain the book of the law that had been found in the temple while it was undergoing repairs, a woman was sought out who possessed the knowledge of the long-forgotten book —"Huldah, then studying in the college at Jerusalem." In those ancient days, among the Hebrews, the "higher education" was already open to women. She seems to have enjoyed all the privileges, even to assessments for the repairs of the temple. We have denied the women of the temple to-day, who are subject to assessments, any greater representation

in its government; though it is the sentiment of some leading rabbis of the present time, as also of many laymen, that "woman suffrage" should become an article in the constitutions governing temples and synagogues, extending, however, only to women without husbands.

After the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity, and their rehabilitation in their own land, they were long in a colonial state. Their women remained quiet; it was not until the fierce Syrian persecution attempted to force Greek idolatry on the Jews that the strength and steadfastness of woman's pious heart were brought into notice. The heroism of Hannah in exhorting her seven sons to suffer death in her presence rather than forswear the God of their fathers, the God of Israel, could not fail to inspire her people with a determination to die before they would yield their sacred inheritance.

Though the Maccabees achieved independence for Judea and restored the glory of their ancient kingdom, it was but an *ignis fatuus*, the phosphorescence of a decaying state.

In the conflict between Greek and Judaic culture, parties arose, known as the Pharisees and the Sadducees, whose strife often reached such violence that it menaced the safety of the nation. During these contentions a woman appeared, Queen Alexandra, who not only maintained peace for ten years, but, apprehending the danger of extraneous influence on the Jewish polity, so closely interwoven with the Jewish religion, established throughout her realm schools for youths of sixteen and upward, where they could study their sacred law and become its maintainers and defenders. She also endeavored to suppress in her kingdom all panderers to superstition — that moth of religion. That noble work was continued and improved by another woman, Martha, wife of the high-priest Joshua-ben-Gamala, who instituted schools for little children, that they might not grow up in ignorance of their history and their religious duty. Thus, along with learned men, who, amid all the turbulence of the internecine quarrels, never aban-

doned their study of the law, there were women who adopted more practical means to preserve it by instilling it into the children — the parents of the coming generation.

The policy of cosmopolitan Rome was rather to absorb her captives into her own state as contented subjects — aggrandizing her supremacy — than to separate them by intolerance. Hence, but for the lamentations over the loss of their territory, the Jews dwelt in peace, involuntarily disseminating by their advent among the pagans the germs of new thought.

Up to the eleventh century the Jews enjoyed, though fitfully, the immunities of the various countries in which they settled. In the ambition of Christianity to become the dominant power in the world it adopted the aggressive policy of conquest by force as surer than the peaceable one of conquest by conviction; the Jews, who found in it only strange accretions to their own religion, and no fulfillment of the Messianic rule of love and peace, were stolidly tenacious of their rational, monotheistic faith, and never surrendered it. Hence, they were driven from place to place, thrust out of one country to await the same fate in another, and robbed of some privilege with every banishment; they were pushed back to the Ghetto, and their intellectual and material activity beyond its narrow limits was asphyxiated. During this period of insecurity and apprehension men, much less women, had no heart to cultivate anything but resignation; yet the preparations for religious observances, multiplying in proportion to the exclusive attention bestowed upon them, demanded such special knowledge that in the thirteenth century a rabbi issued a manual of religious duties for women, which he deemed it as necessary for them to study — inasmuch as they had charge of all the preparations for these duties — as for the men to study the Talmud. The wives and daughters of the rabbis became the chief students and teachers of this branch; many of them also studied the Talmud; and so learned did they become that their decis-

ions on certain points acquired rabbinical authority. Noted among them was Dolze, the wife of a rabbi in Worms, who knew every rule concerning forbidden food, and the entire service as chanted in the synagogues, and gave open lectures on these subjects on the Sabbath. In Bagdad dwelt a daughter of a rabbi, so versed in the Bible and the Talmud, that she gathered around her thousands of pupils to whom she publicly lectured.

The Protestant Reformation gave an impetus to the profounder study of the Bible. Christian women gained such proficiency in the Hebrew language that they read and wrote it fluently. What wonder, as Kayserling says, that Jewesses studied their own literature with more zeal, gaining power with knowledge. Thus in 1709 A. D. Sara Oppenheim wrote a prayer-book for the home, called the "Esther-roll"; Krendel Steinhardt, wife of a distinguished rabbi, received the name of "Rabbizin"—female rabbi—on account of her scholarly acquirements; she understood so thoroughly the ritual for festivals that on one occasion her husband, unable to explain clearly a passage in it, sought her assistance. Bienvenida Ghirondi, who lived in the eighteenth century, while a young girl, held Talmudic disputations with the greatest Hebrew scholars of her time, and later taught her son and other young people the Hebrew grammar and Bible, and the commentaries of Maimonides and Raschi.

In the forced wanderings of the Jews they sought refuge wherever a liberal rule permitted. We find them in Prussia, under the Fredericks, in whose successive reigns enlightenment was encouraged; and this enlightenment was in no small degree accelerated by the Jew, Moses Mendelssohn. This "golden age" of German literature brought into the field Hebrew women of culture; the most famous salons in Berlin were those of the Jewesses, Dorothea and Henrietta Mendelssohn, Henrietta Herz, and Rachel Lerin Varnhagen; also in Weimar did the salons of Fanny von Arnstein and her sister rank among the first. Though

the substantial, sparkling intellectuality of these women attracted to them the master-minds of the age, they contributed apparently nothing to their own religion, yielding to a vanity which prompted them to cloak it. Yet it is recorded that Rachel Varnhagen, the most noted of them, said in her last hours, "With a sacred joy do I think of my origin, and of this whole vast destiny by which the oldest remembrances, the most distant times and places, are with the newest conditions bound together. What for so long a time was to me the greatest ignominy, the sorest sorrow and misfortune, that I was born a Jewess, I would not now part with for any price." As ideas float in the air before they are condensed into positive shape in any single mind as a basis for action, it might be possible that this free intercourse between Christian and Jew had some vague bearing on the movement for "Jewish Reform," which originated in Germany, and which is nothing more than a nearer assimilation with modern customs, without sacrificing the essentials of Jewish belief.

Judaism had no firmer, more trustful, more hopeful, yet lethargic, adherents than its English followers; but it was the women who were first responsive to the awakening spirit of progress. Anna Maria Goldsmidt, Grace Aguilar, Hester Rothschild, and others have transmitted with rekindled ardor the pure glow of their ancestral faith to succeeding generations; and in the noted house of Rothschild their women have made the worth of Judaism permeate and sustain the benefit of their great wealth. In our own fair land the Jew finds his soul in consonance with the heavenly refrain of liberty. His religion reaches out to the farthest border-line, and his women bravely help him. Already in the early part of this century did Miss Rebecca Gratz institute the first Jewish Sunday-school in this country; and since then the religious school, presided over largely by women, has become an adjunct to every Jewish congregation. Among women conspicuous in this work are Emma Mordecai and Alice Dalsheimer. In these schools patriot-

ism to country and constancy to religion are inculcated as the bases of all enduring worth. Probably, in the present age, nowhere have Jewish women battled so valorously for her people as here. Emma Lazarus, well known to the English-speaking world, again swept the Hebrew lyre, that its passionate tones might reach the heart of her suffering people, to bear unto them hope, and to bear unto the hearts of others, tenderness and compassion. An innovation in the Jewish service, due to a Jewess, Miss Peminah Moise of Charleston, S. C., was the singing of English hymns. Miss Moise wrote a book of English hymns for the first Reform congregation in her city; many of them are embodied in the various hymn-books now in use in most of the temples and synagogues, to which also Emma Lazarus and Deborah Kleinert have contributed. And now the Hebrew woman, for the first time in her checkered career, will soon assume the priestly office. Already two intrepid women, marshaling the way, Ray Frank of Oakland, Cal., and Lena Aronsohn of Hot Springs, Ark., are studying for the Jewish ministry in the Hebrew Union College at Cincinnati.

The rabbis have said: "The world stands on three pillars — law, worship, and charity." In private life the Jewess has always helped to strengthen these pillars; but now she too "lets her light shine that they may see her good works"; and with her kindergartens, her industrial schools, her homes for the orphan and friendless, her sisterhoods of personal service, she enlists in the great "army of peace" which is battling to-day under that old Mosaic command, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." In every humanitarian path does she enter. The first female resident physician in a general hospital in New York City, under male governors, was a Jewess, Dr. Josephine Walter; the first female dentist of Germany was Dr. Fanny Sternfeldt, a Jewess of Munich; the fifth training-school for nurses established in this country was founded by a Jewess, Mrs. Alma Hendricks of New York; the largest scholarship ever bestowed on an art student was given by a

Jewess, Mrs. J. H. Lazarus of New York; a Jewess of London, May Abrams, has become the first female factory inspector there; and the latest projected movement in New York City, to empower trained female nurses to become inspectors of tenement districts, has been started by a Jewess.

I feel that I have been called to-day, insignificant as I am, not only to speak for my Hebrew sisters, but also to speak to my Christian ones; to say that we Hebrew women, with all our pride in our origin, our prophets, our poets, our warriors, our statesmen, our artists, our scholars, our philanthropists, our Moses, our Isaiah, yea, *our* Jesus, know that we belong to the roll of the world's worthies; and we dare claim the just recognition due us. In culture, in labor, in charity, in every virtuous walk, we are in step with you — nay, our shoes were already worn when you began the march; and am I too bold when I say that in martyrdom to us belongs the palm?

It is the history of a religion, its inspiration, its motive, its strength, its efficacy, that must decide for or against it. We no longer live in a mist of superstition, in which natural phenomena are accepted as miracles. The necessity to find a new country; the judgment to select a fruitful one; the courage to conquer and hold it; the ability to govern it, making it a light unto mankind, under the faith that there is a guiding, ruling power — in all this, Hebrew history is a prototype of American history. Shall the Jews and their descendants be hated for it? Shall they be ostracized as aliens instead of welcomed as heirs?

We ask you, our Christian sisters, to study our history; and let enlightened reason aid you to perceive and obliterate the misconceptions of the Christian mind; even as to-day you are obliterating that other misconception, through which your just recognition as co-workers in the world's advancement has been so long withheld.

## Woman as a Religious Teacher — Address by Ursula N. Gestefeld of New York.

Of all the departments of activity now open to woman, none is more important than the office of religious teacher. The requisites for this office, and what it entails upon the one who fills it, should be considered.

Woman at present, more perhaps than man, leads by example. Her influence, like the greatest forces in nature, is silent and subtle. What she is within makes itself felt without. Grand as are her achievements in art, in science, in literature, in all lines on which humanity climbs, a noble, exalted womanhood outstrips them all. All education and experience, therefore, which tends to enlarge her nature, develop her latent powers, bring to her recognition the best of herself, are valuable. The education which comes from study and the education which comes from life are equally important in the training of woman as a religious teacher. While the education of the schools may make woman a preacher, it must be coupled with the education which comes from living, to make her a religious teacher.

Woman needs to grow and ripen through experience to minister to souls. She must be able to say to the suffering and sorrowing, "I know"; to the wearied and wandering, "I see"; to the hopeless and despairing, "I feel with you." She must be able to stand on all levels, to descend to all depths, to show the way. For her there must be no high and no low. She must see in every soul only the child of God, only a member of the one body, even as she is. She must have this religion of the heart as well as a religion of the head, that she may not give to the hungry ones who clamor for food, a stone, instead of the living bread which alone can satisfy.

It is the essentially feminine, the motherly, element which makes the religious teacher, as it is the masculine that makes the theologian; and souls need instruction far more

than they need theology. Where theology ends, religion begins; where the theologian fails, the teacher succeeds; where the arbitrary and unyielding decisions of theological creeds repel, the feminine intuitions invite; where dogma drives through fear, the teaching which is the impulse of the feminine soul wins through love.

Woman can not be a religious teacher and a dogmatist. Her instincts are naturally above her creeds. They lead her to serve her God by serving her fellow-men. How she can best do this is the kaleidoscopic problem continually confronting her; and she sees a clearer road and larger possibilities before her when she elects to be the teacher rather than the preacher.

As this teacher she will perceive the truth in science as well as in religion. Recognizing the injustice of the divorce which has existed between these so long, she will bring them together, uniting them in the marriage which shall beget an offspring — the science of divinity. The world has waited long for its ecclesiastics to perform this marriage ceremony, and the time has come when woman assumes the rôle of officiating priest.

Instead of "Believe, only believe," she cries, "Understand and prove, and you may know."

It is no disparagement to the masculine nature to affirm that the feminine is nearer to the Infinite, and more closely in touch with it. That is the most successful clergyman to-day in whom the feminine quality is well developed, although he is the one most likely to be tried for heresy. He has his own revelation, which often stands opposed to his doctrine, that Zacharias revelation, from the right side of the altar, which strikes him dumb; for, filled with the God-knowledge which floods his being, he can no longer expound mere man-made creeds.

Doctrinal theology is the formulation of the masculine intellect, and is hard, rigid, and unyielding in its limitations. God-knowledge is direct from the Oversoul, and woman is its receiver and transmitter. One of her first

requisites as a religious teacher is to keep herself receptive, to seek more in the within than in the without. Then, instead of wrath, judgment, and retribution — the masculine view of God — she will proclaim love, charity, and peace.

The coming religious teachers of the world will be the feminine souls, whether these be found in men or in women. The divine descends into the world only through them, and of them only can the Christ be born. For the masculine souls, developing only on the plane of the intellect, the divine remains the unknowable.

Another requisite for woman as a religious teacher is fearlessness. She must not be afraid to teach what her whole being recognizes as truth. If she makes the purest and noblest womanhood her standard, the ideal to which she bends every energy, she will not lead her people astray.

If, with all her heart, mind, and soul, she desires only truth for the sake of truth; desires it that she may impart it; desires it that she may point the way for seeking feet to follow; she will not err.

Courage is a most essential requisite for a religious teacher; the courage of conviction and self-abnegation. No one is fit to hold that office, man or woman, who can not put his cause before himself, content to be veiled by it.

Woman, more than man, can be self-sacrificing. She can lay all upon the altar, keeping nothing back, asking no reward for herself, though demanding all respect for her work; content if mankind be helped forward through her efforts; if the cause she represents be uplifted and honored.

To-day woman is able to pursue power, in large measure, along the same lines with man, competing with him as an individual, asking no special consideration, only equal opportunities and privileges. As yet, enjoyment of political power is largely in anticipation, but she is tasting the delights of the intellectual sufficiently to have a vigorous appetite for more. Through intellectual development she has become comparatively independent, where before she was helpless; and she enjoys, as only centuries of repres-

sion can enable her to enjoy, the larger freedom which is now hers. Financial independence is possible to-day for the young woman who has brain and determination enough to secure it. It enables her to cultivate and develop her intellectual faculties, and makes her less inclined to enter any relation which does not give her scope for their exercise.

We have brilliant women to whom men pay intellectual homage, and whom other women regard with admiration. And yet the religious teachers can not come from these, if moral and intellectual ability is all they offer. Intellectuality without spirituality is a flower without perfume, to be admired but not enjoyed. Intellectuality without spirituality first blunts, then covers, then smothers woman's intuitions; and only the intuitive woman can be the greatest religious teacher. Intuitions are God's method of speaking to the soul. They contain the highest wisdom. But the purely intellectual woman, for whom everything must be objectively demonstrated, is first deaf and then dead to them. Her city of refuge is not "the secret place of the Most High," but, at the best, a liberal agnosticism.

Neither can the religious teacher come from the ranks of the mere religionists, those who are ruled by their emotions and make no demand upon their thinking faculties; for to live in the feeling only, is also to deaden the intuitions. From these come exhorters, and their work, as far as it goes, is good, a part of the whole; but they are not religious teachers.

The ideal religious teacher will be the woman who can unite the ideal and the practical; who can find the essence in every aspect of truth offered by the scientific, the philosophic, and the religious world, and, inspecting it in the light of the never-dying flame upon the altar of her own soul, bring it forth again with the divine seal upon it. She will teach principles more than personal views, insist upon deeds rather than theories, proclaim right-thinking the basis for God-like living. She will be the woman whose

intellectuality does not stifle her emotions, whose feelings do not dwarf her intellect; one in whom both sides of her nature are well-developed and held in equilibrium; strong, courageous, with fine moral sensibilities, unselfish, neither seeking commendation nor fearing condemnation; a new humanity will be born of her labors, composed, not of Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians and Catholics, but of those who, conceiving the Christ ideal the divine pattern to which all mankind is to conform, press forward as one body to actualize it. Charity for every form of belief, loving kindness for every traveler in this King's highway, whatever gates he elects to pass through on his journey, will characterize the members of this body.

DISCUSSION OF THE SAME SUBJECT BY ALICE MAY SCUDDER OF NEW JERSEY, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR.

All thoughts of woman as a religious teacher can be brought under the four words, pulpit, press, pedagogue, and parent, and these four P's we shall briefly consider.

First the pulpit: Woman was first admitted to the ministry in this country in the year 1853, and while she has since then become better fitted for this vocation, through higher education, yet comparatively few of her sex present themselves as candidates for this office. This is well, for not many women have the necessary qualifications.

A good preacher needs to be fearless, not afraid to doff the garments of tradition and don such as are in keeping with the religious fashions of the times. The conservative and sentimental nature of woman unfits her in a measure for this work. The nineteenth century preacher must also be an explorer; and our clerical women must be willing to search for truth everywhere—"in the heavens above, the earth beneath, or the waters under the earth"—if they are to obtain an intelligent hearing. The work of the ministry

demands so much time for study that women ought not to undertake it unless they are willing to remain single. Domestic cares and maternal duties are too absorbing for preachers.

Consider next the press: It seems that the people of to-day are all eyes, while in the Middle Ages they were all ears. There was comparatively little reading done then; but nowadays most learning is acquired from the printed page. Now, young and old, ignorant and wise, jump for books, magazines, and newspapers, much as a bluefish leaps for his morning meal at daybreak. In the realm of literary production, woman has a high place; and she teaches religion as truly through the printed page as she can in the pulpit, and far more extensively. To prove woman's power through the press I need but mention the names of Frances E. Willard, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Jennie June, Frances Ridley Havergal, Louisa M. Alcott, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Susan Coolidge, Lucy Larcom, and Alice and Phœbe Cary.

Third, let us consider woman as a pedagogue: We have seen that some are fitted for the pulpit, and that more are qualified to write for the press; but into the field of instruction multitudes may enter. Ethical culture has not been so banished from the school-room that the power of a life resplendent with Christian virtues, can not be felt. A holy life is a mighty religious influence, but of course it can speak with more power in the Sunday-school or junior endeavor society, for there the children meet to drink copiously from the fountain of ethical knowledge.

Our last consideration is woman as a parent or mother. In the sphere of motherhood she reaches her climax of opportunity and usefulness. Woman should never delegate religious teaching to others, for no one can instruct her children so well as herself. This ought not to be transferred even to the church of God.

When the late Victor Emanuel sought to remove the nuns of the Sacred Heart, some noble ladies waited upon him and implored him to let them stay, declaring that their

daughters could not receive proper religious instructions if the pious sisterhood were removed. The king listened attentively, and then said, "I know that there are at this moment many ladies better qualified to educate children than are the Sisters of the Sacred Heart, and these pious teachers," continued he, bowing courteously, "are yourselves, their mothers."

DISCUSSION CONTINUED BY SARAH B. COOPER OF CALIFORNIA, PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL KINDERGARTEN UNION.

I rejoice in the larger life of women in the church. The church has a right to the best gifts of noble women — the mothers and the sisters who are doing the great work of life. "It is gold too precious to be lost, and we are dying for want of just such material." Yet in days not very remote, "on a mere punctilio," they excluded from active service in the church feminine elements that would have increased its power. As a noted clergyman said, "and so we have our bean-poles of propriety, but not a single morning-glory twining about them and blossoming out to the glory of God."

The Creator hath set the sons and daughters side by side at the hearthstone. It is a prophecy that the sexes are to work together.

You too, dear workers, have a high and holy mission. The best way to teach the suffering that God is their father is to show them that we are their brethren and sisters. Sometimes a loaf of bread will do more to convince a soul of the reality of religion than all the arguments you could offer. A kind action will often do more than a spiritual suggestion. The church must prove its religion by its philanthropy. It was Christ's way. In all his miracles Christ said, virtually: "That ye may know what I would do for your soul — for your higher nature — let me show you what I would do for your body."

And we know that this matter of doing good needs tact, wisdom, love, knowledge, and strong common-sense. To do the best work there must be a lighthouse in the head, as well as a lighthouse in the heart. It is a curious fact, that until very recently the church seems to have taken it for granted that anybody who truly loved the Lord could go right out and do wise and hard work. The supreme hindrance is not so much a lack of talent as a lack of energy and willingness to work.

The hindrance above all other hindrances is the failure to recognize and accept the mighty agency of the Holy Spirit's power. It is a lack of faith in this heavenly impetus which makes so many good causes stagger. There is a spritual momentum. God's power in the soul of man, like God's power in the physical frame, springs it to healthful activity. We are like tropical plants in a frigid zone. There is in every one of us a capacity for unfolding which needs only the kindling rays of the Holy Spirit of God. The only way to wait for this grace of God is as sailors wait for the breeze — expand the heart to his favoring gale, and let him fill the sail.

Just one other point, and I am done. There is no greater hindrance to the training of workers than the distinction which is drawn, even by professing Christians, between secular and religious work. Just as if one must go apart from his secular tasks to get at his religion. A religion that has everything for a future world and nothing for this world has nothing for either. A religion that neglects this life is a mother who neglects her babe, thinking that manhood will set everything to rights. Genuine religion is not alone a preparation for some future world, but a grand instrument for the improvement of this. Workers must be trained to understand that God's laws in nature are as sacred and obligatory as are his laws in revelation. Obedience to both brings happiness. Disobedience brings misery. Teach workers to remember that great fact in sociology, that "pain and disease, destitution, vice, and

crime — the great evils of our social condition — are the results of violated laws; and that a good Providence will answer our prayers for relief when we do our part, by teaching the ignorant to obey physical laws, on which health depends; moral and spiritual laws, on which happiness depends; and social and economic laws, on which plenty and comfort depend."

DISCUSSION CONTINUED BY LOIS A. WHITE, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CHRISTIAN WOMAN'S BOARD OF MISSIONS.

Woman teaches that which she believes. Sometimes she does this in the class-room where she is publicly recognized as a regularly employed instructor. No biography of Garfield fails to include a most honorable mention of Miss Almeda Booth. To her came the blessed privilege, as a teacher of James A. Garfield, on Hiram Hill, of deepening and strengthening in the growing boy those well-rooted, clearly defined, and firmly believed principles of the everlasting gospel of the Son of God that were first given to Garfield by the example and precept of his mother, and afterward crowned him the universally esteemed, Christ-anchored statesman. Miss Booth taught what she believed.

In Portland, Ore., the Christian Woman's Board of Missions sustains a Chinese mission. The instructor is a native Chinese, Jen Hawk, who has received a college education in this country. By invitation from the Union Ministerial Association of that city he holds membership in that body, and is eagerly and respectfully heard in their proceedings. Last October, in a national missionary convention at Nashville, Tenn., this Chinaman, from a full heart of gratitude, testified before the hundreds assembled that a woman, Miss Sue A. Robinson, years ago, in the city of St. Louis, where he had come a lad with his father from China, patiently and prayerfully sat by him and taught him not only to speak and read in English, but to look to the Saviour of souls who

alone can give any lasting value to intellectual attainments. So we see woman sometimes a religious teacher in the Sunday-school. Always she teaches what she believes.

How vitally important it is that woman shall use all of her now limitless privileges for learning, in all directions, to seek and to possess the correct religious belief, that her teachings may be the truth which alone can really train the men and women of character who are to-day the world's greatest need.

DISCUSSION CONTINUED BY ZINA D. H. YOUNG OF UTAH, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S RELIEF SOCIETY.

I wish it were possible to express in words the gratitude I feel in associating with you on this happy occasion; yes, with those who have sought to elevate humanity, in the removing of prejudice, in the battle for right, in the great advancement for womankind which has been effected through the efforts and energy of these noble women assembled in this Congress and those they represent throughout the world.

I wish to refer in brief to our people in far-off Utah, to tell you of the blessing of God that has been upon our efforts, in the midst of a desert country, in sustaining our poor, gathered from all nations. We acknowledge our Father's care through it all, and give him the honor and praise. I appreciate the grandeur and dignity of this august assembly, the order which prevails, the earnestness of the speakers. I wish I could tell you of the inspiration that filled my soul as I looked upon those assembled here, whose souls beat in harmony with my own to do good, by maintaining honor, and uprightness, and virtue, which is acceptable to God, and which results in true happiness.

HELEN H. GARDENER.

KATE BOND.

REV. ANTOINETTE BROWN BLACKWELL.

MAUD BALLINGTON BOOTH.

JOSEFA HUMPAL-ZEMAN.

DISCUSSION CONTINUED BY ELIZABETH B. GRANNIS OF NEW YORK, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN LEAGUE FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL PURITY.

Here we come together as a great body of women. We intend to close our exercises on Sunday. But the one thing for which the disciples met is going to be absent. We are not to have the Lord's Supper celebrated, but many of us want that great international service. If woman has any place in the pulpit she certainly has a right to administer the ordinances; as evangelical believers we have no right to omit that supper, for Christ has invited us to show forth our love for him by celebrating it, that we may live unto life everlasting. I want every earnest, praying woman, believing in prayer and in God, to have that celebration, that we may show forth to the world our love and faith in that ordinance.

DISCUSSION CONCLUDED BY FANNY M. HARLEY OF ILLINOIS.

Jesus gave us a religion, but not a theology. Paul clothed the religion of Jesus with a theological garb. So long as the masculine principle was dominant in the race we had a theology, but we know now that theology is short-lived, for the pendulum is swinging to the womanhood of the race, and the feminine principle is working to promote religion.

The standards or ideals established by theology were so remote that men despaired of reaching them, and were content with a lip-service, throwing the responsibility of conduct upon the church and the priesthood. "The woman tempted me and I did eat" has always been the plea of the individual for his misconduct under the theological régime.

Woman is gladly laying down the power which she has had over man during ages past; the power born of dependence, of sex indulgence, and of carnality, and she is recog-

nizing that her power is of the Holy Spirit; that as sin came into the world by her, so by her must come redemption. She must demonstrate that love to God includes love to man. She must prove that love is divine, and not carnal at all. She must depart from intellectuality and realize within herself, and give forth, a religion for men to live by. Theology is of the intellect, and the intellect is cold. Religion is of the heart, and the heart is warm; from its wellsprings comes life eternal. Emerson says: "Great thoughts come from the heart;" and Ruskin says: "All true science begins in the love, not in the dissection, of your fellow-creatures, and it ends in the love, not in the analysis, of God."

Love is the attracting power of the universe. Man must follow where love leads. As surely as the magnet attracts the needle will womanhood, ascending Godward, draw man after her. Emerson says: "Whatsoever the woman's heart is prompted to desire, the man's will is simultaneously prompted to accomplish."

## The Light in the East—Address by Eliva Anne Thayer of New York, Founder of the Order of Melchizedek.

True mysticism is rarely understood; it is not the contemplation of Deity alone, after the devout manner of the Hindu, but putting into immediate active work the knowledge of the Christ within, so as to give us the glorious results of the incarnation of this light which lights the whole world in every age and every clime. I speak always of the grand message which Jesus Christ delivered, not of poor imitations. All literature, art, and science shall be re-made under the teaching of the Light, with its amazing energy and infinite power. The body alone represents the soul. Jesus healed both soul and body, and the effect of this alchemic light and life was so great that Professor Drummond states that "day by day his disciples grew, and

the people whispered, 'They have been with Jesus.'" The body is a great mirror, reflecting the state of the soul, and therefore not to be despised.

To overcome all things as Jesus overcame is the light and life of true Christian mysticism, the work of the Holy Spirit; all else is astral; and the hour is approaching when its mighty Babylonian fall is decreed, and its reign will be gone forever. Christ says, "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end." This completes the circle. Is there any other religion or philosophy which is not elliptical, which has not something left out? The climax of language is reached when we read what Jesus sent through his angel to Saint John, the mystical revelator, in the twenty-first chapter of Revelations.

In the third and the eighth chapter of Proverbs is given a picture of the female principle of Deity, and as we uplift our eyes to this resplendent womanhood, the motherhood in God with the fatherhood is calling on us, as no other voice can call, to "come up higher; work for woman." It calls woman to a remarkable destiny, as joined to the incarnated Most High, to Christ Jesus, for the regeneration of the race. Following this light around the whole world we shall become blessed, radiant, crowned with many crowns.

But shall woman go forward alone? Shall not man share this glory and blessing with her? Can she not be an instrument in helping him escape from his terribly intense activity in the accumulation of wealth? She desires the divinity and elevation which flow from the Christ-refined home, the love to God and one's neighbor, wherein both love and gospel reign, rather than the luxuries which come from the enslavement of man to the mammon of unrighteousness. To woman this message has come, and not in vain. As surely as the white cross has been planted on our flag — this highest mystic symbol of equality (preceding the crown) — so shall all nations move forward and upward. There shall be no more want and poverty, but peace and plenty throughout all lands.

As this light is so closely related to the Order of Melchizedek, in fact coming through it, it may be interesting to many to hear a few words concerning that order. Mrs. McPherson, a distinguished literary mystic of Scotland, says: "There have been three utterances of Melchizedek, Genesis, Psalms, and Hebrews, in the Bible, and the fourth utterance is now at hand." As this order was organized in 1872, her prophetic saying is verified. In the working of this Order of Melchizedek the fourth light has been placed in the north, which means woman. In Masonry the north is still a place of darkness. Thus we see the progressive character of the Order of Melchizedek concerning woman as she will be under the full glow of this universal light. The equality is established; the even cross has its completion, around which the circle, the Omega, can be drawn. Plato affirmed that God geometrizes; thence this white even cross must move around the globe.

I approach this fourth utterance with awe and reverence, and any word of mine is powerless to convey all that is meant by Melchizedek. This power is spirit, and emanation from Deity; its very essence is eternal. If the greatest preacher, Saint Paul, did not convey fully to us all the prophecy of the fourth utterance, I deprecate criticisms of my feeble tongue. It remained for Saint John the revelator to look down the stream of time and give us the consummation of the ages, the paradise again restored to earth, into which the power of evil shall not enter. Immortal youth awaits the race. Unto you, women, I call again to make yourselves ready; for, "Behold, the bridegroom cometh," and through you, as transformed within this divine union with Jesus Christ, the only light and life, a race shall be born with whom God will dwell and go no more out forever. Sickness, sorrow, pain, and death, the last enemy, shall be destroyed; there shall be a new heaven and a new earth, wherein shall dwell righteousness.

## THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED — ADDRESS BY ELLA DIETZ CLYMER OF NEW YORK.

When Jesus spoke to his disciples concerning his second coming, he described the suddenness of it as comparable to the lightning "which cometh out of the east and shineth even unto the west; so," he said, "shall the coming of the Son of Man be."

Is the light in the east of which we think to-day that swift symbol which is indicative of the Lord's sudden appearing? Jesus rebuked the hypocrites of his day because they understood the physical signs of the face of the sky, and of the earth, and yet saw not the spiritual significance of the time in which they were living.

"The judgments of the Lord are just and righteous altogether;" and this great land which he has given to us for our inheritance, rich in all mineral wealth stored in the earth for man to appropriate to his legitimate uses — do you not know that the Lord will ask us to render an account of this stewardship? America is rich in all that is needed to bring comfort to the physical nature of man; is she also cultivating that spiritual wealth which alone can bring comfort to the heart and soul? Man is a complex being; "he does not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." His soul must be fed; and in this age of the world the soul-hunger is increasing daily as the friction of civilization develops more and more the spiritual consciousness of mankind. To those who are watching, many signs appear indicative of a change in the race itself.

The growing interest in psychic phenomena in all countries and among all peoples shows that the race is rapidly discovering within itself a new set of faculties, a new species of power; thought-transference, hypnotic suggestion, and occultism in various forms are absorbing the attention of many, and are becoming popularized with other phases of

science in these democratic days. The question before us is, What use will the race make of these newly discovered powers? They are instruments of spiritual warfare which may be consecrated to its uplifting, or desecrated to bring about its downfall. The greatest production of a nation is its noble men and women. The greatest promise to Zion was that it should be said of her, "This man was born in her." No nation can be really great without the quality of ideality in the individual and in the race.

I verily believe we are even now entering upon an era of this world's history more important than the earth has ever witnessed since our Saviour Jesus Christ was born at Bethlehem; for the destruction of Jerusalem which followed after his first ministry on earth was but an epitome and a type of the destruction which is doomed to come upon all governments or institutions of any kind founded upon force, and not upon the divine attribute of love to God and man.

The watchers on the mountain-heights proclaim the dawning of a new day. There are streaks of morning redness in the sky which declare that "the Son of Righteousness shall rise with healing in his wings." The light in the east to-day is the light of the world, "the light which lighteth every man which cometh into the world." The commandments which Jesus gave to a few fishermen in the land of Judea nearly two thousand years ago have become the standards by which kings must rule; for in the commandment, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, with all thy strength, and with all thy mind, and thy neighbor as thyself," is concentrated all the wisdom of the ages — wisdom which, if carried out in the governments of the world, would speedily transform this earth into a paradise.

"The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us," and that dwelling of the Godhead in the flesh of humanity was in itself the prophecy of the reconstruction, purification, and redemption of mankind, and its final restoration to all the powers and attributes of sons and daughters of God.

It behooves women of this present day to study the part which woman enacted so nobly eighteen centuries ago.

It has been truly said that woman knew her Saviour. Jesus is called the "desire of women" and the "desire of nations." The Blessed Virgin accepted her election at the hands of God, exclaiming, "Be it unto me according to thy will."

Women followed their Lord through his life, and ministered unto him of their substance; no woman denied him, no woman betrayed him. Pilate's wife protested against his condemnation, while the daughters of Jerusalem wept. At the foot of the cross stood three women and one man — John, the beloved disciple, most loving and feminine in his nature. Mary Magdalen, first at the tomb, beheld him after his resurrection, and proclaimed the joyful tidings to his disciples. Are not these significant facts that we should do well to ponder? Seeking to know God's will to us in this our day and generation, what may our ministry be in his second coming to the earth? Are we waiting, like the Blessed Virgin Mary, until the Lord shall regard the lowliness of his handmaidens? May we seek to know the will of the Lord, and to do it in the coming days of trial; and by our visions of the heavenly Jerusalem may we inspire the hearts of men with that divine faith which may remove mountains. O women of this bountiful land! unto you are committed unseen treasures which you should bring forth for the world's uplifting. The spiritual forces of the universe are at your command, through your power to ally yourselves with the Son of Man, Immanuel — "God with us." That is the name that we should seek to know him by; and we should make our houses of earth so pure, so sanctified, that he may dwell in them as he dwelt in the home at Bethlehem.

Is this a heavy task that is laid upon us? He said, "My yoke is easy and my burden is light." Is not the world weary of sin? Can we not bring down Jerusalem — the vision of peace — and let its holy walls encompass this fair

land? "Where no vision is, the people perish." For the sake of the perishing world, let us hold to the vision of that heavenly and eternal peace which follows, and is the crown of righteousness.

## ORGANIZATION AMONG WOMEN AS AN INSTRUMENT IN PROMOTING RELIGION — ADDRESS BY MARY LOWE DICKINSON OF NEW YORK.

What is the value of organization, first, to the individual religious life? and second, to the problems of human helpfulness?

The second includes the first. Human helpfulness presupposes love for humanity. Love, the one divine and godlike attribute, upspringing in the human heart, is a stream whose source is the heart of God. The stream of our religious life is brighter for running so near to other streams as to catch the music of their flow. Alone, we may wander, and drift, and dream; united, we gather the joy of companionship, the grace of sympathy in service. It is blessed to find other prilgrims traveling on the same journey; to go on by their side; to halt where they halt; to get broader and sweeter glimpses of the glory of the way by seeing through others' eyes, and from others' points of view; to find one's own work more blessed because others rejoice to help; to grow into gratitude that in the great tasks God has set to nobler souls than ours, each little life may have its little share.

Still further blessed is organization in religious life, in the stimulus of emulation that comes in work that many share, and in which each must do his part. Great strength, too, is there in the consciousness of one's own forces many times multiplied in the larger hope of high accomplishment, and the gladness of greater success.

Yet these most shadowy outlines are only a few hints at

the answers that might be given to the question of the value of coöperation to the individual religious life.

And as to the value of coöperation on the part of women in Christian helpfulness, what are we to say? Simply, that almost all the results of womanly Christian helpfulness, since first the world began, are due largely to the coöperative principle, working upward and outward, until the tendency to economize the highest forces crystallized into one form or another of organized work.

In order to note this tendency to multiply power, first by sharing and then by combining, we need not go back to listen to the song of Miriam, who, stirred to the depths of her soul by her nation's peril and its victory, gathered the maidens together to sound with her the timbrel, and to join with her in the song, "to him who triumphed gloriously." The song was never her own, and by herself she never sang it; but the one thing she did do was to call the women together, and that fact has kept the timbrel sounding down through the ages even from that day unto this.

Even in the dimness of the medieval days, whenever the truer instinct changed women who were rivals into allies, there followed progress in refinement, and pleasure, and power. Women learned, without the higher motives, how to win and use the world for herself; but it remained for religion to win and use her highest forces for the world. Witness the noblest of patrician women, the proud daughters of Marcellus, following Saint Jerome; witness the women in the army of martyrs; witness the Roman church's calendar of saints.

There is no time and no need to dwell upon the cloistered communities, about whose chapel-altars beat the love and longing of womanly hearts, like one long, unbroken wave of worship, a wave that, ebbing, overswept many a saintly soul with the mystic's solemn joy. Neither is there need to trace the development of the later orders of mercy, and service, and charity, which, says a famous modern divine, have done more in the last three hundred years to make

converts to the Roman church than all the theologians and the clergy put together.

The reaction against the cloistered life was not a reaction against coöperative labor. It sprang from a recognition, on the part of the wisest, of the fact that common and not isolated service is good, not only for those who are ministered unto, but for those who minister as well.

The Reformation emphasizes this fact. The Protestant church had its tradition of Phœbe, and its hints at an order of widows. The Lutheran church held a man large enough to apprehend woman's underlying heart-principle of mercy and love, and to see that the world had only to avail itself of her unused forces to find in her an all-embracing motherhood, that made her outstretched arms an orphanage for the world. It was a man who had the wisdom to use what the Lord had provided, and so he founded the Order of Deaconesses, under whose united labors, in their early fields, pauperism was banished, idleness passed away, and pain soothed by their loving care became a blessing. They were not dispensers of soup and bread alone, but students of that problem that vexes the world to-day, as to how to stem the ever-rising tide of destitution and of sin.

How well they wrought in that early time, the spirit that has descended upon the modern deaconess bears witness. A spirit that, like a strong stream, running for a time underground, has again burst forth to the light, and goes on its way with all fresh, new, and lovely life for body and soul.

And all this, and much more, is true of the foreign mission societies. What a coöperative force they are, these women who, staying at home, have organized every hamlet in the land, have created in every church its woman's auxiliary, its young people's union, and its little children's mission bands.

There is a great temptation in this subject to follow all organized movements of workers down through the years and to trace the thread of Christian principle on which their beads of good works have been strung. In the limita-

tions of our space this is impossible. We may, however, give a moment to the evidences of the power of the Christian spirit as shown in one of the largest organizations in the world.

That the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is throned to-day at the center of the world's encircling organizations of women, is not so much because its battle is against the foe of childhood, motherhood, and the home; not because its grand crusade is one of rescue to lost manhood; not because of its numerous departments of human helpfulness, but because it struck this one chord to which the hearts of women answer. It made a union; that was great. It made a temperance union; that was greater. It made a Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and that, and that alone, made success in the highest degree possible.

It was the voice of Christ that called together the white-haired and white-souled women of that first crusade, and it is the Christ in the union, the Christ in the temperance, and the Christ in the woman that has been, in all this movement, the secret and source of its success and power.

One glance at our civilization shows that there never before was a time when, at the heart of every movement, large or small, lay such consideration for the welfare of human beings as exists to-day. Never before were so many school-houses built, and so much money expended for the education of the illiterate. Never before were there such wise projects for preventing pauperism and disease. Never before was the spirit of Christianity so active in human affairs; never was religion so patient with ignorance, so pitiful to suffering, so lenient toward superstition, so ready to shake off the shackles put upon it by bigotry, and to represent, by its living activity, the power of the love of Christ.

Notwithstanding this, we are forced to recognize that still the whole world groaneth and travaileth in pain, and the problems of race conflict, of human freedom, of education,

of labor, of social economics, of whatever touches the restoration of human souls and human bodies — these problems beat against the heart of humanity to-day as they beat against the heart of Christ in that far-away time when men questioned how, in spite of all this misery and sin, could come the kingdom of God.

For generations pulpit and press and reformer have been, as they are to-day, striving to arouse a sense of responsibility, and induce woman to take her share in the regenerative forces of her time. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union recognized that a large class — and its membership of two hundred thousand also shows this — are no longer in need of this exhortation. They were ready for work — not for all work, not for every work, but for some work — if only the right place could be found in the mighty mosaic of God's temple, built of human lives, for their bits of precious stones.

To seize the already existing tide of aspiration and desire, to save it from exaggerated and sentimental self-spending, to guide it to the highest uses, and to make it one of God's regenerative agencies has been the effort of the Union.

There are two oriental proverbs, one of which says, "A woman's wisdom is of the devil;" and the other, "Ignorance is a woman's jewel;" and there is a glint of truth in the saying, for the measure of a woman's knowledge must always be the measure of her responsibility; and her care-free brightness, the *sans-souci* sparkle of selfish existence, must ever catch a shadow from a sight of the world's woe.

But, as once a queen stood ready to part with her jewels for the faint hope of adding a new domain to her kingdom, so the women of this nineteenth century part cheerfully with that comfortable ignorance that knows no burden, for others' weal, for the chance of adding a new domain of truth and justice to their country, or of opening a new hope to a race.

It matters little how we classify our work; as social, scientific, legal. educational, philanthropic, secular, or religious

— the light by which we have seen the world's need, and the power by which we adapt woman's work to the need, both radiate, directly or indirectly, from the cross. To rally multitudes of women to work in its spirit, until the world is drawn to its feet, and its principles become the renovating, redeeming power at the heart of human work and life — this is the ultimate power in organization, and this is doing in very truth what Columbus did in words, claiming, not in the name of one, but of many, queens, the nation's work for God.

ADDRESS ON THE SAME SUBJECT BY REV. IDA C. HULTIN OF ILLINOIS.

As a distinctively woman's work there has not been so much organization in religion as in other branches of activity, and until woman is organized in every church there will not be much organized work. Of course woman organizes in church affairs — in raising money, in doing the kitchen-work at oyster-suppers, the painting and papering and carpeting of the church, and holding church fairs; but this is not distinctively church work, although it has a great deal to do with that which paves the way to religion. The clubs that women have entered for industrial and philanthropic work have helped them to know how to work together. Woman has been the great organizer in home life, and because she has been so successful in this organization it has come to be said, "Home is her only sphere." But she has begun to realize that outside of this there is a larger sphere for organization, by which she will be enabled to do better work in religion.

What is religion? It is not a theory; it is not a creed; it is not a gathering of certain formulas. Religion is the underlying current of human life which carries it upward. It is the science of the highest development of humanity. It is that something which makes life worth living. It is that something which puts the key in the gate and lets us

into the so-called heaven. It is that which saves you and me, and forgives the universe. It has to do with the morning, noon, and night of life. It helps men know how to trade, and talk, and how to look up into the heavens, and see that God is there, and feel the divinity in the stillness of the night.

Truth and goodness are not parts of religion; they are religion. Religion is that which makes us know not only the fatherhood of God, but also the brotherhood of humanity; it sees God in the clods as well as in the stars, and makes us know that in every atom we shall find a divine purpose and a divine inspiration. There is no place where God is not.

## THE ELEVATION OF WOMANHOOD WROUGHT THROUGH THE VENERATION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN — ADDRESS BY EMMA F. CARY.

"There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." So says Saint Paul in the third chapter of Galatians; and a few verses below he adds, "God sent his Son, made of woman, made under the law; that he might redeem them who were under the law; that we might receive the adoption of sons."

"Neither Jew nor Greek" — yet to the present day nation rages against nation; "neither bond nor free" — but centuries passed before the voice of the church could procure for those in servitude more than a slight mitigation of their wrongs. How has it been with the third part of the prophecy, "neither male nor female"? From the first days of Christianity we can see the beginning and the course of its fulfillment. Softly as the dawn, gentle as the power of that woman of whom Christ was made, arose the influence of women in the church. From the earliest days of apostolic times we see them, in all modesty, but with the valor

of men, taking their share of work, of peril, and of commendation.

To prove by quotations from great authorities that this recognition of the just claims of women was the natural as well as the supernatural result of the Blessed Virgin's place in the scheme of the redemption would be to fill the short space allotted to this paper with a list of illustrious names, and to leave that list unfinished. Beside the figure of the sacred humanity of Christ there stands his Mother, the feminine impersonation of wisdom, fortitude, grace, mercy, purity; as far below her Son as the created is below the creator; yet offering a standard of womanly perfection so exalted that it urged forward to maturity one element of civilization, while others toiled for centuries, only to have their importance acknowledged by the noblest, most enlightened spirits of each age. Nay, to this hour there are claims of humanity which cry vainly, in the name of Christ and his church, for recognition, and the crimes against them hide behind the shield of virtues, such as justice, prudence, liberty, patriotism, and valor.

I will not touch on the dangerous ground of theology; I appeal to history to show that public opinion was so purified by the veneration felt for the Virgin Mary as to lift at once the service of women in the early church to a position of dignity; to hold it at the same high level when the simple relations of Christians toward each other became involved with social and political combinations; and in time to make the protection of distressed or oppressed women one of the holiest duties of the clergy and of the patrician class. We have the women of the apostolic age, beginning with those halcyon days when, "continuing daily with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, they took their meat with gladness and simplicity of heart." The Blessed Virgin was the direct guide of the women of the earliest church. Tradition tells us that "she spoke little, but she spoke freely and affably; she was not troubled in her speech, but grave, courteous, tranquil." Who is

reading this does not recall the manners of religious women of our own time? In convents are still found the exquisite manners which spring from a perpetual consciousness of God's presence. We often see in pupils of convent schools the same deference, sweetness, and dignity. Perhaps they have not as yet in perfection the "higher education," but time will soon bring that about; and they have the highest education to-day in possessing a perfect standard of womanly behavior, drawn from the household of Nazareth.

But the scene changes; political problems become entangled with religious questions; a more active participation in the trials and perils of men is called for, and in the arena, on the scaffold, in banishment and persecution, we find that there is in Christ neither male nor female.

In the thirteenth century, painting, poetry, and theology all united in lifting on high the ideal of womanhood through the veneration of "Our Lady"; for then she was OUR LADY, so called through the devotion of the knights of chivalry, who saw her in all women, and found for her a thousand lovely epithets. "Our Lady of Liberty," cried captives; "Our Lady of Sorrows," moaned the afflicted; "Our Lady of the Cradle," prayed mothers; "Our Lady of the People," cried those who saw in her the elevator of labor.

Dante calls her "Ennobler of thy nature" in that magnificent apostrophe, which so satisfied religious feeling that Chaucer and Petrarch, nearly one hundred years later, paraphrased it in words as beautiful as Dante's. Saint Thomas and Saint Bonaventura among theologians, Giotto and Cimabue among painters, were her panegyrists. No wonder that in the succeeding century we have two women of transcendent gifts — the Saint of Siena, controlling the youth of her city and molding the political events of the day; and the Saint of Genoa ranked among the theologians of the church.

Meanwhile, through the ages preceding the thirteenth century, three phases of civilization had tended to develop

LILLIE DEVEREUX BLAKE.
MARGARET WINDEYER.
BARONESS THORBORG-RAPPE.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.
J. ELLEN FOSTER.
BARONESS ALEXANDRA GRIPENBERG.

NV

the talents of women and to show their powers. The feudal system, though in after times it was flung off as a most grievous yoke, was the creator of domestic life in distinction from wandering life. The wife of the lord was of consequence; his companion when he was at home, his representative when he was absent, especially in the Holy Land, for such separations lasted perhaps for years. Thus the crusades formed a second influence upon the development of women; for, the head of the family being absent, the wife was forced to bear great responsibility and to act as regent in a sphere more or less extensive. The third external influence was chivalry, which made all women objects of romantic devotion, either as inspirers and patronesses, or as sufferers, to be defended against the evil part of the human race.

We can not linger over the period of the Renaissance, familiar to many through descriptions as various as the minds which have delineated its wonders. It brings us to the culmination of art, and to the close of the ages of faith, so called by those who had but little of the gift of hope. With the decay of religious art there came a spirit of luxury, far more perilous to religion than persecution can ever be. The extravagant self-indulgence of the upper classes aroused rebellion on the part of the people; revolutions changed the face of the civilized world, and, while tearing off veils from hidden evils, checked civilization, and, above all, retarded the intellectual development of women. A spirit of scoffing and cynical incredulity possessed society. Many of the clever women of that day recall to our minds the dissolute women of pagan times. The average position of a good woman was merely that of a notable housewife or of a frivolous belle in the gay world. Where was now the spirit of chivalry, which should have defended women from the mocking spirit which prompted the farcical drollery of "*Les Précieuses Ridicules*"?

But, beautiful to record, the heroines of religious life sustained the best traditions of their sex, and showed them-

selves daughters of Mary. Many new congregations arose, founded by women, and the ancient orders were preserved in their integrity. Education of a simple and wholesome kind was given in convent schools, and a foundation laid ready for the best development of feminine training when time should be ripe for it; and, in imitation of our Mother, religious women were always to be found at the foot of the cross. Wherever there was adversity, hard work, or danger, they stood ready to meet the crisis. Tabor could do without them, Calvary they claimed as a right. For women living in the world the pure ray of light which streams from the first century to the twentieth has been sometimes obscured; but for religious women there has been no mist rising from the miasma of self-indulgence, no smoke from the fires of vanity to hide that light; and that it still shines for us all is due in part to their heroism in preserving unbroken the noblest traditions of womanhood. In the present century we owe much to women who have used their great gifts as nobly as any of the heroines of the early or medieval church — to Madame Craven and Madame Swetchine, Lady Georgiana Fullerton and Miss Mary Stanley, and in our own country to Mrs. Petre, Mrs. George Ripley, and Miss Emily Harper.

We stand at the threshold of the twentieth century, and muse on the future that it holds for spiritual and intellectual women. Does the church ask less of them than of their ancestors in the faith? It asks more, for the privileges which formerly belonged only to a few are now generally diffused. There is not a material invention of the present day which can not be bent to a spiritual purpose. The girdle put round the earth by electricity binds the world and the nations of the earth together, and the great deeds done in one quarter of the globe belong to the rest of humanity. Shall we lose courage while there are Christian colonies in the heart of Africa and martyrs for the faith in China? But we have no thought of losing courage; we claim all that is highest in modern education, in modern

ingenuity, and unite ourselves to the traditions of the past, going back nineteen hundred years to the household of Nazareth, to study the spirit which should animate domestic life, life in communities, and that complex existence led by those who have not the protection of either the one or the other.

Once more let us look toward her who is, in the words of Saint Sophronius, "the exaltation of humanity." We will not take as our interpreters Newman, Faber, or Mr. Aubrey de Vere. We will look where there might seem small chance of finding sympathy. We will let Shelley speak for us:

> Seraph of heaven! too gentle to be human,
> Veiling beneath that radiant form of woman
> All that is insupportable in thee
> Of light and love and immortality!
> Sweet benediction in the eternal curse!
> Veil'd glory of this lampless universe!
> Thou moon beyond the clouds! Thou living form
> Among the dead! Thou star above the storm!
> Thou wonder and thou beauty and thou terror!
> Thou harmony of nature's art! Thou mirror
> In whom, as in the splendor of the sun,
> All shapes look glorious which thou gazest on.

THE SISTERS OF THE PEOPLE — ADDRESS PREPARED BY MRS. HUGH PRICE HUGHES OF LONDON; READ BY ——.

I have been requested to give an account of the work done by the Sisters of the People, which is the organization that I represent. Before I do so, however, I think that in a few words I would better describe the origin of the sisterhood, and the way in which it is conducted.

Previous to my husband's appointment to the West London Mission, five years ago, we had both felt the want of organized work for women in connection with the Christian church. We had deep respect for the sisterhoods of the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches, and recognized

the magnificent work they had done; but were anxious that places should be opened to earnest Christian women, where, free from life-long vows and cramping discipline, they might engage in the form of religious or social work to which they felt specially drawn.

We were told by many people that it was utterly impossible to establish a community of women who would work together on lines such as these; that vows, in some form or another, for at least a limited period, were necessary; and that work could not be properly conducted and carried on without rigorous discipline.

The attempt to establish such a sisterhood as ours was an experiment, and even those who had the matter most at heart had their doubts and fears; but after five years we can honestly say that the experiment has met with a success such as we hardly dared to hope for, even in our most sanguine moments. I do not deny that an organization based upon principles so broad and free as ours has its special difficulties and drawbacks. A system of complete subjection and rigorous discipline is in some respects more easy to work. But we distinctly recognize the rights of women to their own individuality; we wish to give them free scope to use whatever powers they may possess, and to develop themselves on their own lines and in their own way. We began with four sisters, including myself, and we have now about thirty-four actively engaged in work.

In my travels about the country I had been struck from time to time with the number of refined, educated women, who were interested in the condition of the masses of the people in our great cities, who took to heart the social problems by which we are surrounded, and who longed to do something for the spiritual and physical well-being of the poor and unprivileged. It was this class of women especially whom we wished to enroll in our ranks. I know that many humble and devoted women have toiled as Bible women and visitors, and many more have done noble work in the ranks of the Salvation Army; but, after all, there is

a work that can be done by those who have enjoyed the privileges of refinement and culture, and by them alone. Hitherto I had observed that anybody, even if she had failed in everything else, was thought good enough for mission work, but we wanted to bring home the idea that no one was too good for mission work. I had seen many women of the educated classes, who were longing for some useful work to do, who were spending their lives in comfortable and luxurious homes, engaged in an aimless round of trivialities, when they would have been thankful if they could have joined in such work as ours.

We chose the name "sisters" advisedly. We had no wish merely to copy the name used by the Roman Catholic and the Anglican churches, and we wished it to be understood in a democratic rather than in an ecclesiastical sense. It was the name that most perfectly expressed the idea that we wished to embody. We intended to establish an order of true sisters of the people; we wanted women who would lay aside all pride and snobbery, and who would go among the degraded and unprivileged as their true human sisters and friends. Our idea is that we must share all we have and are, with those among whom we work, and that those very privileges of refinement and education are given to us in order that we may employ them in shedding sweetness and light upon other lives.

Every candidate for the sisterhood comes at first on probation, which lasts for at least three months. At the end of that time, if everything is satisfactory, she is formally received, wears our uniform, and enjoys all the privileges accorded to members of the sisterhood. The greater number of our sisters live together in one large house in Fitzroy Square, though we have two or three other branch establishments where one or two reside. The community life is as simple and homelike as it can possibly be. We have no rules except such as would be maintained in any well-ordered house, and every sister is trusted implicitly and absolutely. We encourage individuality, and each is

free to carry on her own work in her own way, provided that she succeeds.

When we find that a sister has capabilities for some special work, we allow her to devote herself entirely to it, and to develop her own ideas and methods. In this way we get a high degree of thoroughness and efficiency, because, not merely does the sister perform a round of duties, but her whole soul is given to her work, and she is determined to make it "go," somehow or other. If one plan does not succeed she tries another, and is constantly on the *qui vive* for fresh ideas and new experiments.

The cost of the sisterhood has been partly met by the general funds of the West London Mission. In addition to this we have a special sisterhood fund, which is maintained by small annual subscriptions from those who sympathize with us in the work we are doing. This is gradually increasing, so that we hope, in a short time, the sisterhood will pay its own way, and will be quite independent of the general fund of the mission.

We do not allow any difference to be made between rich and poor sisters. All are treated alike. No one is allowed to pay for board and lodging, although if she has the means and chooses to do so she can give whatever subscriptions she thinks fit to the sisterhood fund; and to a sister, who has no private resources, we give a small sum, just to cover necessary personal expenses. We admit members of all churches so long as they are in sympathy with the objects and aims of our mission; and they are perfectly free to attend the services of their own churches when not on duty in our mission.

We have at this moment in our ranks several members of the Church of England, as well as members of many Nonconformist churches; and we have so far solved the problem of reunion that we all work together most harmoniously. I think it hardly occurs to us even to ask to what church the different sisters belong.

I must now, however, try to give you some idea of the

work that we have done during the last five years. It is a difficult task, because in the short time allotted to me it is almost impossible to give more than the barest outline of our different branches of work. Our sisters all begin with visiting in the districts surrounding our various mission centers, and so far as the very poor are concerned we consider this personal visitation and influence the very backbone of our work. The typical district visitor is generally looked upon as a person who goes about distributing tracts and soup tickets, and who tries generally to ram religion down the people's throats. Our aim, however, is to go among the people as their real human sisters and personal friends, to make them feel that we really care for them and love them. We get to know their characters and surroundings, their difficulties and temptations, their errors and sorrows, and to be so thoroughly in touch with them that we can understand the point of view from which they look at things. The ideas of life, morality, and religion held by people who have lived all their lives in one room are somewhat different from our own; and there is a tremendous distinction between downright, deliberate sin and that fatal weakness and degradation brought about by the terrible circumstances of their lives. In our experience, by far the greater number of people are weak and helpless rather than wicked.

This knowledge is not gained in a day, or a year, and at first it was difficult to make the people believe that we had no motive of self-interest behind all that we were doing. But when once you get poor men and women really to believe that you care about them just as you care about your own personal friends in your own class of life, your influence over them is unbounded, and their confidence and affection are touching in the extreme. True Christ-like love is the only power which can bring about moral reformation and advancement.

We have had striking proof of this in the work of one of our most valued sisters, who had great power with the

lowest and most degraded type of women. They were so low that it was almost impossible to get them to any church or mission hall — they were drunk and immoral — but with infinite patience and tenderness, Sister Agnes visited them and cared for them; and gradually they grew to love her, and to believe in her love for them. She told me that she had often to visit a woman for days, and weeks, and months, before it was possible to mention religion. But true human love seemed to make it possible for them to realize the divine love, and the power which God does give to those who look to him; and as a result their lives in numerous instances are completely changed; they have become sober and more self-respecting; new hopes and aspirations have dawned; and they are trying to live up to the light they have.

It is, of course, absolutely forbidden ever to proselytize. Those who are in the habit of going nowhere on Sundays, as is too frequently the case, we invite to our halls, but we never attempt to induce those who go to churches or chapels to come to us. We are welcomed by Roman Catholics, foreigners, socialists, and infidels alike. They look upon us as their friends, and trust us.

Besides this moral and spiritual influence, we interest ourselves in the questions of the hour, which so deeply affect the happiness and welfare of the working classes. We enter heartily into the temperance movement, and are allied with the British Women's Temperance Association for that purpose. We talk with the men in the workshops, get to know the papers and books they read, and discuss social questions with them.

We have actively assisted in the formation of women's trade unions, and endeavor to interest women in social and political questions that specially affect the position of women and helpless children. We help in the school-board and county-council elections, and we took our part in the general election last summer.

All the different branches of work that we have started in order to help the people and brighten their lives, have

arisen out of the personal knowledge we have thus gained of their wants and surroundings. We soon found that the poor women who were obliged to go out to work needed a day nursery, where the babies could be taken care of during their absence. We have therefore established a flourishing crèche, which is under the charge of a sister who gives her whole time to the work.

We have also established a nursing department, and have among our sisters six fully trained hospital nurses, who nurse the poor in their own homes. They work also under the guidance of our medical director, and spend their time in ministering to the sick and dying. It is difficult to realize how much the poor suffer in times of sickness. Living all together in one room, without any of the most ordinary appliances for the sick, often unable to provide either nourishment or medicine, their sufferings are terrible. No work that we have done is more blessed than that done by the nurses. From our own dispensary they can supply medicine, clean sheets, old linen, and sick-room appliances; and, in cases of poverty, as long as the illness lasts, they provide suitable nourishment. We have another branch of work in our convalescent country home in Gloucestershire, also under the charge of a sister, where we send people to recover health and strength; and where we give hundreds of tired workers who are not actually ill a pleasant fortnight's summer holiday. Our medical director has also conceived the beautiful idea of opening a home for dying people. It is impossible for the London hospitals to retain hopeless cases, and many poor sufferers return to their wretched homes, where they linger for weeks in agonies till death mercifully releases them. We have had awful cases of consumption, cancer, and other lingering diseases; and we shall shortly open a hospital containing about sixteen beds, where patients in a hopeless condition will be received; and where everything that medical skill can do to alleviate suffering will be done; and where the consolations of Christ, and loving, womanly care, will soothe the last hours of the sufferers.

We do all we can to bring brightness and variety into the gray, monotonous lives of the dwellers in the back streets. Time fails me to dwell upon our numerous clubs and social entertainments, both for grown-up people and children. We have boys' clubs, girls' clubs, lantern lectures, and concerts of all kinds. At one of our halls we have established what we call a coffee-concert, on Saturday night. The hall is arranged so that people can walk about, or sit in little groups and talk. Coffee and refreshments are served at a charge of a few pence, and we have a regular jolly, lively programme. This has proved an immense success. The hall is crowded every Saturday night. Our two girls' clubs are also most successful. Those who know anything about such work understand the difficulties of dealing with the wild, untamed London factory girl. We certainly had some lively experiences at first. But the London factory girl, with all her lowness and coarseness, is an affectionate, leadable creature, if only you can take hold of her in the right way. It is not every one who can do this. Four of our sisters give up the greater part of their time to this work. Last June they took a large number of the girls for a holiday down to our country home in Gloucestershire. They lived with them for ten days, sharing all their meals, and going with them on their rambles and expeditions. They had a most delightful time. The sisters said they had never enjoyed a country holiday so much before, and the happiness of the girls was pathetic. During the whole holiday the sisters told me they never heard a word nor saw a look they could object to, though many of these girls came from the lowest courts and alleys in west-central London. Every now and then we give a sort of "At Home" at the club, to which the girls invite their men friends. We invite some of our men friends at the same time, so as to give the girls a kind of object-lesson as to the way in which men and women ought to behave to one another. This has not been without its effect.

We encourage every kind of thrift society, and in one of

our women's slate clubs, alone, last year the sum of four hundred and six pounds passed through our hands.

Another branch, that is conducted almost entirely by sisters, is what we call the "Relief Department." We had not worked for many months before we found we were overwhelmed with applications for help of all kinds. We therefore appointed two sisters, who were specially interested in this work, to sit every morning from eleven to one o'clock in a room in one of our halls, there to interview every applicant for help.

Full investigation is made in every case, and then, at a weekly committee, composed of all the sisters, we discuss each case, and decide what is the best way of rendering efficient help. We refuse to deal out charitable doles of money, which will just leave people in the same position at the week's end; but we endeavor to render such assistance as will enable them to help themselves. In this work we have been assisted most generously and kindly by the various branches of the Charity Organization Society in our districts, several of our sisters being members of the various committees. We find work for the unemployed wherever it is possible, and considering all things we have been tolerably successful, though it is very hard work. We look after servants who are out of situations, take care of them, and find them fresh places, helping them with their clothes if necessary. We look after families where the bread-winner is laid aside by illness, and get the patient to a convalescent home upon recovery. We help the boys and girls out into their first places. We have often and often mediated between landlord and tenant. We are in touch with the sanitary inspector, the Board of Guardians, Mr. Benjamin Waugh, and other authorities. We look after girls who have gone astray and are trying to do better. We entertain the old people in the workhouses with afternoon teas. Their lives above all others are the most hopeless and dreary. To our Sunday services at St. James' Hall and Prince's Hall come hundreds and thousands of respectable

young men and women who are employed in the West End houses of business. For the last two years we have had a sort of Sunday evening "At Home" at Prince's Hall, for the young men and women in houses of business, at the close of usual services, which all end at nine o'clock. Tea, coffee, cake, biscuits, and bread and butter are served at a table at the end of the hall, and we all move freely about and talk to everybody. Occasionally we have some sacred music performed, but there is nothing of the nature of a meeting or service. We close the proceedings at ten o'clock with simple family prayer, a few verses from the Bible, the evening hymn, and short prayer.

We also carry on a small and quiet work among the upper classes in the West End. In the very nature of things, it is impossible to give details of work of this kind. We have found, however, that the rich, and titled, and privileged, often need the knowledge of Christ more than the very poor, and they also need the love and help of the sister. The poor have much more done for them than the rich ever have. There are more broken hearts and terrible tragedies in society life than one has any idea of. Our work in this direction is steadily increasing, and now that we are becoming known, people often come to us to pour out their hearts' anguish, and to seek comfort and help. We feel that wherever there is a human being to be helped, whoever it may be, there the Sister of the People has her work.

I have spoken mainly of the outward and visible in our work; but all that we do is based upon our belief that Christ is the great need of every man and woman who is born into this world. His is the only power that will reform society and regenerate the world; and behind all that we do for the social, moral, and political advancement of the people, we believe that the highest duty and privilege of all is to bring the individual man, or woman, or child to a knowledge of the love of Christ, and to personal trust in him.

## CHAPTER VII.—MORAL AND SOCIAL REFORM.

PREFATORY COMMENT BY THE EDITOR — COPIOUS EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES DELIVERED IN THE GENERAL CONGRESS BY JULIA WARD HOWE, ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, JOSEFA HUMPAL-ZEMAN, ALICE TIMMONS TOOMY, PROF. ELLEN HAYES, VISCOUNTESS HARBERTON, MAUD BALLINGTON BOOTH, KATE BOND, AND HELEN H. GARDENER — BRIEF EXTRACTS FROM THE DISCUSSION OF THESE ADDRESSES BY REV. ANTOINETTE BROWN BLACKWELL, MRS. JOHN F. UNGER, JOSEPHINE C. LOCKE, MARGARET D. PARKER, M. LOUISE THOMAS, DR. EMILY HOWARD STOWE, DR. JENNIE DE LA M. LOZIER, MARGARET WINDEYER, LAURA ORMISTON CHANT, OCTAVIA W. BATES, DR. LELIA A. DAVIS, AND PROF. HELEN L. WEBSTER — EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS PREPARED FOR A REPORT CONGRESS BY HELEN TAYLOR — COPIOUS EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION BY MARY H. HUNT — EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NON-PARTISAN NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION BY FLORENCE C. PORTER — ADDRESS PREPARED FOR THIS CONGRESS BY LADY HENRY SOMERSET — ADDRESS PREPARED BY ELIZABETH WHEELER ANDREW.

TO some readers it may seem that the space occupied in this chapter by the discussion of the dress of women and its proposed improvement is disproportionate to that which these subjects occupy in the public mind. It would appear, however, that these questions must be surveyed from both the social and the ethical standpoints. It is certain that woman's present ability to face all weathers, to participate in outdoor sports, such as cycling and tennis, and her present industrial freedom, curtailed as they still are, are in no mean degree due to overshoes and waterproof cloaks, and to her acquisition of blouses, tennis-shoes, and walking-boots. It is equally certain that woman's ability to engage actively in those moral reforms which demand personal acquaintance with the denizens of the slums, and per-

sonal inspection of their surroundings, presupposes still further modifications of her dress. In the close scientific study of present social conditions, and in the scientific administration of public charities, the race will not be to the woman shackled by corset and train. These considerations suggest the reason for including the discussion of woman's dress in this chapter.

Of the seventy-one papers presented in report congresses, at least ninety per cent treat subjects that come properly under the head of social and moral reform, and the same is true of at least seventy per cent of the hundreds of addresses made in department congresses. Therefore the attempt has been rather to exclude from this chapter all addresses that *can be* classified under another title.

As in no other department of social and moral reform are women so numerously organized as in what is termed the temperance movement, and inasmuch as temperance reform is preliminary to many other moral reforms, it seemed proper to regard women's work for temperance as representative, and give it a place in this chapter. The other topics discussed in this chapter, such as "The Moral Initiative," "The Civil and Social Evolution of Woman," and "The Double Moral Standard," are universal in application and fundamental in character, and should be united in thought with all specific social and moral reforms proposed.—[THE EDITOR.]

## THE MORAL INITIATIVE AS RELATED TO WOMAN—ADDRESS BY JULIA WARD HOWE OF RHODE ISLAND.

This title indicates a topic which has come to me in hours of thought and of study, attracting me both by its philosophical and its practical aspect. The present century has seen great progress in these two departments. The old philosophies have been taken up, sometimes in a reverent, often in a skeptical, spirit, and the critical procedure has

acknowledged no barriers beyond which it is forbidden to pass. Rules of life, on the other hand, have also been sharply reviewed and amended. The salient points of morals have been distinctly sought out and emphasized, and the two great orders of thought, philosophy and ethics, have been brought into new relations of nearness and dearness. Religious teaching has passed from the observation of rites and the inculcation of metaphysical views and doctrines to the illustration of the intrinsic essence of Christianity; and the subtleties of mysticism, ritualism, and what not, have been forgotten in the sympathetic uprising of the heart of the multitude. When ten thousand people waited in the square around Trinity Church, in Boston, for the last glimpse of Phillips Brooks' coffin, when they joined in the Lord's prayer and in the hymn led by trumpets, which constituted all the outdoor service on that memorable occasion, those who were present saw the triumph of cordial over formal Christianity — saw, and thanked God for what they saw.

Something of this process of integration appears to me to have gone on with regard to the powers and offices of women during the last twenty-five years. I can remember when it was not deemed improper to plead in excuse for foolish and even wicked conduct, "She is only a woman." Only a woman — only half the human race, and the mother of all mankind! This reminds me of a bigoted European Catholic whom I once met in traveling, who, learning that we have no established state church in America, inquired: "Well, what provision have you then for religion?" I replied, "We have the doctrine and example of Jesus Christ." "Nothing but that?" he answered with contempt.

Well, we do not often hear this phrase to-day, "Only a woman," and gradually we have been led to discard the fragmentary and imperfect views of our sex which their enemies have taught us; for low-minded men are always the enemies of women, and always desire to see them in a position of subserviency and dependence. High-minded

men, on the other hand, have tried to give us high ideas of what women ought to be and to stand for in social economy, and some of them have had much to do with the present awakening and rehabilitation. For lofty ideals of womanhood the literary world has not wanted. The tragedians of Greece, and her great philosopher, Plato, the writers whose treasures are gathered in our Bible, the poets of the Renaissance — noticeably Shakespeare, Milton, and Dante — have shown us, with other types, the women of noble stature and august character. But the common world of men about us has not appeared to take much stock in these. A feebler and more frivolous type has been more congenial to them, and while expecting and exacting from us a stricter morality than that required of their own sex, they have been at no small pains to obstruct in us the sources of moral inspiration, and to make us feel that to please them is our highest duty and our greatest honor.

The times of this ignorance we may say with St. Peter, "God winked at." In the old mythology Mars and Venus went together, the fighting man with the woman whose beauty is her chief endowment. But Mars is going out of high fashion. The soldier is no longer the supreme example of heroism, but simply a necessary evil. The thoughtful, the life-preserving virtues are in the ascendant to-day. Character attracts, character rules, and we have learned at last that it can not rule unless men and women have it equally, unless in both sexes its aspirations may rise to their own height and work out their own development.

Now, what do I mean by this moral initiative as belonging to woman? Is it a wise phrase that sounds metaphysical and means nothing? My thought of it is simply this: The world has had much good to say of its women, and much evil, and both with reason. The first woman has been credited with all the woes which have befallen humanity, and with all the sins into which it has fallen.

Buddhism considers the principle of evil in nature as resident in the female sex, and ascetics in all lands have

held the same view. The legends of the mother of Christ have no doubt exercised a potent influence in elevating the moral position of the sex; yet in romance and stage-play to-day, as well as in ordinary society pleasantry, the question is common, Where is the woman who is at the bottom of the mischief? I think that wise people now ask an opposite question. When we meet with a man who is without fear and without reproach, whose blameless life seems to have gone on from strength to strength, up-building the community, and honoring humanity by his own noble image and conduct, we are apt to ask where the woman is. And our thoughts go back to the cradle in which his helpless infancy was tended — even further, to the heart to which his own was the nearest thing on earth, to the breast from which he was fed with the essence of a pure life. Happy is the man whose mother has been a tower of strength to herself and her family. The first precious lessons it has been hers to give. No matter what storms may have raged without, how mean the home or how wild the street, he has first seen the light in an atmosphere of celestial purity. The mother love has watched at the gates of his childish Eden with a drawn sword. No evil counsel or influence has been allowed to come near him. And when in the necessary course of things he has passed out of her keeping, he has gone accompanied by the Christ-prayer, "I pray not that thou shouldst take him out of the world, but that thou shouldst keep him from the evil." This I call the moral initiative, the man's start in life. The nucleus of all that he is to believe, to aim at, and to do, has been delivered to him, like a sealed packet full of precious things, by a mother who honors supremely all that honors humanity, who dreads and despises all that dishonors and deforms it.

No one will deny that this type of woman is most precious. The question will rather be how we may maintain and multiply it. And here the whole horizon of the past confronts us, as well as the veiled heaven of the future.

In this past we read that all that is slavish in human institutions is demoralizing; that while discipline forms and exalts, despotism degrades and deforms, appealing back to the lower instincts, which have their place in animal life — fear, cunning, low self-love, and the low attachments of mere habit and interest. From the tyrannies of the old order into the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free the world is slowly passing, but all that detains humanity on its lower levels retards the progress of the race. Oh, that men, themselves enfranchised, should wish to detain their women in the bondage from which they themselves have been delivered! In true Christianity there is no moral distinction of sex, neither male nor female; but in the political life even of free America the man opens the door for himself and shuts it against his wife, opens the door for his son and shuts it upon his daughter. And this, I say, is demoralizing. It compels one-half of the human race to look back toward the old barbarism, while the other insists upon looking forward to the new civilization. The man to whom the woman's freedom of soul is the first condition of his own, puts on that freedom a fatal barrier, and defrauds himself thereby. His mother should be his superior; his wife should be his equal and companion. He invites them to acquiesce in a lower position, to exercise a self-control which he does not dream of exacting from himself, but also to sacrifice the self-respect out of which should spring this very power of self-control, of self-sacrifice, of subordinating the pleasurable to the ethical, the caprice of self-indulgence to the steady purposes of duty.

I do not say that any of these thoughts are new, but I do say that as life goes on, and the world with it, they present themselves to me with new power and completeness. In reviewing my days, I recall the noble women whom I have known, deep-hearted and wise-thoughted. I have revered them as individuals, as stars in a dark sky, as striking exceptions to the poor average of feminine attainment, intellectual and moral. But I see them now as partial

revelations of a glorious whole. The germ of all that I have admired in any woman surely resides in every woman; and if you can reach the true woman in her you will call forth something of it. Men and women are alike cheated by the frivolity in which most of us are bred and educated. We are taught to be content with suiting the tone of our life to the careless pleasure of thoughtless men.

Now, I say, let there be an uprising among us. Let thoughtless men take, on the contrary, their attitude from our nobleness of mind. Let them recognize in us not only a moral sentiment which they must respect, but a moral determination to which they must conform.

Oh, women! let your sons see in you only what shall raise you in their esteem. And while you inspire them with tender respect, and train them to all that is generous and truth-loving, remember that you have a double duty to your daughters. They are to be the companions and inspirers of men. Oh, see that the source of moral power in them be not corrupted by cowardice nor impeded by senseless tradition. Let man that is born of woman be also trained by woman to the attainment of his fullest manhood, corresponding to her fullest and freest womanhood. God has joined the sexes together in the highest spiritual, as in the simplest natural, need. What he hath joined together let not man put asunder. The woman has slowly conquered the right to education, both as learner and as teacher. Let the mother instruct the daughter to keep, above all else, the impregnable fortress of her own strength, faith, and purity. Let her find and follow the terrible right whose victories, adjourned but certain, are written all over the world. With deep reverence for father, brother, husband, let her yet revere and obey an authority deeper and far beyond theirs, the dictates of an enlightened and ever-studious conscience. Let her keep her own moral initiative. It is from God, and not from man.

I believe in the political enfranchisement of women

because I see in it the key to all that is rightly expected of them in the world's economy. I believe in it because I believe in logic; not so much in the short-sighted syllogisms which we teach as in the great logic which life teaches us, in which effects follow causes, and moral principles confirm themselves in moral results.

May we not suspect that a latent sense of the superiority of service underlies the master's expectation that his slave or servant shall surpass him in patience and benevolence? I find something of this element in the feeling of men toward women. "You are our subordinates, bound to serve and obey, and you should therefore have certain inestimable qualities which we do not feel obliged to possess. You *should* be better than we." And this brings me back to that fragmentary view of great things of which I have already spoken. Men have had their glimpses of what is right and proper. They have guessed well at the truth here and there. Women should exercise some virtues which for men are less obviously requisite, such as patience and endurance in forms peculiar to their life and constitution, and, above all, affections which it is hard to wear out, and faith which never flinches from its loyalty.

But the progress of the great order reveals truth in its wholeness. These broken views of good and of merit are but parts of a great whole whose outline is now becoming visible to us. In the political world these great unifications are matters of familiar history. Macedon and Rome each produced a certain sense of unity from the chaos of differing tribes and nationalities, but Christianity brings us this unity in the moral world, and shows us that there is one right and one wrong for all. What a human being would not himself endure he can have no right to inflict upon others; of what he finds supremely precious he has no right to deprive any one.

Lastly, women must be free, if freedom is to be enjoyed by men and safeguarded for them. Ignorance is the first condition of enslavement, and ignorant women will always

be the tools of the men who are the enemies of freedom. To all that society expects from women let us then add the enlightened mind, the liberal and resolute will. This will secure to them the moral initiative.

THE REV. ANTOINETTE BROWN BLACKWELL OF NEW JERSEY INTRODUCED THE DISCUSSION AS FOLLOWS:

Coming much closer to childhood and youth, and through them to the moral perils of the world, toward which they so heedlessly venture, and into which they are lured at every turn, the woman is, I reason, the earlier foreordained moral factor in human progress. To her we may look for the moral initiative in many directions. Man's battle has been more largely with the untamed physical forces, hers with the perverted moral instincts.

Intellect is needed in both. The savagery of neither domain can be subdued except by wise, rational warfare, except thought, tact, and judgment are strenuously brought to bear. Morals and physics are not two, but one larger unity. Men must work on both sides of it, and so must women. But if women do not more readily turn to moral than to physical engineering, why are their first ventures in public work almost universally in some phase of reform or benevolence? There are many large associations and business firms of women whose objects are philanthropic; very few and small ones which seek to grow rich. Human nature is both one and two, but the masculine and feminine sides are very unlike in their manifestations.

Some of our best friends insist that in civil and political life we may not count upon any saving or elevating influences derived from special qualities or virtues of women; but we appeal to the prisons, where men outnumber women as criminals, and to the churches, where women outnumber men in the quest for moral and religious truth — to every State or municipal election in which women par-

ticipate — which all offer evidence that social order is introduced more readily by the hands of women than of men. Chivalry is not a lost art. Wherever masculine and feminine influences combine on any high plane of honor and integrity, they support each other in securing peace, decency, and progress; but, that social order is more domesticated with women than men, we call to witness the bachelor domicile, with its chronic untidiness, and the old maid's surroundings, spick and span with precision and shining cleanliness.

Until we find that women bring no fresh moral attributes to the new fields in which they are rapidly securing a foothold, we shall still believe that the self-forgetfulness which nature forces upon them first and most continuously, was adapted to bear the first fruits of altruistic love.

Then let them be moral and religious teachers, not merely of childhood, but also of manhood. We make no claim that, all things considered, women are better than men, only that their virtues arise in a different order of unfolding. They feel more sympathy for others' sufferings, and they have more time and inclination to apply the needful remedies. To women gross immorality seems to be a needless vice. Right principles, and justice to others, would banish it from the earth in a generation; and most women are ready to "lure to brighter worlds and lead the way."

MRS. JOHN F. UNGER OF PENNSYLVANIA, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WOMAN'S FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES, THUS CONTINUED THE DISCUSSION:

The moral initiative, as related to woman, is indeed a most suggestive subject. Where is woman's place in such relation? Who shall answer this question satisfactorily? Who understands it? Does man? Does she herself?

Man was originally created in the image of his Creator, of whom he is said to be the "express image." But God created man in his own image, male and female. Therefore, man and woman are included in the divine type. Yet we are accustomed to contemplate man as reflecting the image of God when we think of the fatherhood of God, and also of the second person of the Holy Trinity, in the person of the man Christ Jesus.

But woman! What does she signify who has been so dragged into the dust, so degraded, so sullied in the history of mankind, that except as she has been raised up by a higher power, she is wont to fear, in her extremity, even to lift up her eyes to heaven and ask why she was brought into being? But she need not thus shrink away from the eye of God and man; she, too, has a place in the Holy Type.

The Christian faith is triune. Besides the Father and the Son there is a third person, the Holy Spirit, who also is an object of faith and worship. This holy third, the very mention of whose personality is almost sacrilege, is the Spirit of God — the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, the Sanctifier, the Holy Paraclete, that spirit who, by the promise of the risen Christ to the infant church, should abide with it, and nurture, teach, and guide it to full maturity, until he should come again to claim her as his own, his beloved, against whom the gates of hell should not prevail;— as his bride, who should sit with him on his throne to judge the nations of the earth and to dwell with him in power.

But when we consider the peculiar characteristics of woman in distinction from man, in all her finer and more delicate and spiritual tracery of body, soul, and spirit, does not this seemingly contradictory subject find its solution in the *unself-revelation* (if I may be permitted the coining of the word) of that holy one who came down from heaven to dwell in the church of Christ, to inspire her unto a truer understanding of Christ?

MISS JOSEPHINE C. LOCKE OF ILLINOIS CONCLUDED THE DISCUSSION AS FOLLOWS:

Humanity keeps on repeating its fairy vision of an ideal woman and an ideal love. The eternal-womanly leads us ever onward. Long ago, in the thirteenth century, a man loved so desperately his ideal woman that he drew her from the heights of the empyrean to his rescue. Lost on a desert slope, perplexed and distressed, he meets a company of wild beasts. Suddenly one approaches him, who greets him thus: "A lady from heaven descended has sent me to thee." Thus, Virgil, the highest good of the intellect, appears to the help of the bewildered and lost Dante.

The man, by reason of his wanderings, is slow to appreciate spiritual things, and the vision of his highest womanly is not at first revealed. But in the still silence of the universe, from the very throne of God, it sees him and hastens to his salvation. It meets him on his own plane, and sends him the teachings of human science, of moral and political philosophy, under the guise of Virgil.

The woman soul has stooped to the needs of the man she loved. Virgil, who personifies the intellect, guides him through the Inferno. He tells him, "Twixt Beatrice and thee there is a wall;" but that soul which is created apt to love is mobile unto everything that pleases. Soon, as by desire, she is waked to action.

"Love is that inclination. From necessity springs every love that is within you kindled; within yourself the power is to restrain it by the free will. This noble virtue Beatrice understands."

Virgil is aware of his limitations, the limitations of philosophy and of the intellect. He fails when he tries to explain that men's mistakes are not remedied by prayers, "when prayers from God are separated."

The intellect can not realize how man may swallow fate and cancel destiny through "*free* grace." Virgil says,

"Verily, in so deep a question do not decide, unless she tell it thee, who light, twixt truth and intellect, shall be. I speak of Beatrice."

Then he begins to apologize, as he feels the inadequacy of himself to meet the wants of a soul so passionately in love as Dante is, and offers this consolation: "If my reason appease thee not, thou shalt see Beatrice, and she will freely take from thee this and every other longing."

Finally comes the farewell. Before the ascent of Purgatory is finished the man has outgrown the teachings of the intellect; and Virgil says good-by to him in those wonderful, prophetic words, which the race has kept studying and reading for hundreds of years, but which it has never thought of applying. "The temporal fire and the eternal Son thou hast seen, and to a place art come where of myself no further I discern. By intellect and art I here have brought thee. Take thine own intuition for thy guide henceforth, until, rejoicing, come the beauteous eyes which, weeping, caused me first to come to thee."

Virgil leaves him, and the Lady Matilda — the enlightening grace of God — becomes his guide. She baptizes him in the lethe of self-forgetfulness. His self-condemnation is washed away; he is born again in Eunoe, the stream of regeneration, "pure and disposed to mount unto the stars."

Can this be the same craven soul that shrank in fear from the panther, the lion, and the wolf? Redeemed from his false ways and himself, he waits for the vision of Paradise. This he attains through another, the divine Beatrice, the true praise of God. "With eyes upon the everlasting wheels stood Beatrice, all intent, and I on her fixed my vision."

So they journey from star to star. One glory after another passes before his enraptured gaze, but always "upward gazes Beatrice," and Dante looks at her. She sees God; he sees her. Does she look at him, it is to flash lightning into his soul, and deathless aspiration into his heart. "This is the love that makes fair, that lifts up"—

the love that fears not to tell her lover: "Turn thee around and listen; not in mine eyes alone is paradise." The highest womanly sees not herself, but the face of God, and she desires the same for her beloved — the beatific vision alone can satisfy. Seated on her throne, in the glory of the eternal light, the man sees her and continues his supplications, and implores her, by all the love she hath borne him, "Who for my salvation didst endure in hell to leave the imprint of thy feet." In return she smiles on him; "then on the glory of the light supernal fixes her steadfast gaze."

Her wise love knows the law that woman is the initiator — that if her love would lift her beloved, it can only be done by desiring for him higher things than he seeks for himself; for "the desire of woman's heart is the measure of the choice of man's will."

This is law, poetry, religion, philosophy — man will not rest until he regains paradise. But the good of the intellect will never open its pearly gates to him; only by the love of the eternal-womanly may he enter in. Grecian art, science, philosophy, and the knowledge of the brain will not wash away one stain of self-condemnation, or whisper peace to the storm-tossed soul. Only the eternal-womanly, made concrete in the woman he loves, can inspire him to be "pure and mount unto the stars."

What man is, what woman is, nobody knows; but everybody would like to find out. Let us join in the search. The story of Dante and Beatrice is the solution of the mystery. "The fair, saintly lady, with eyes brighter than the stars," was then, is now, and ever shall be the magnet by which the race and the individual are blessed and redeemed; for Beatrice is deathless aspiration after goodness, beauty, and truth — the eternal-womanly.

The nineteenth century will be known in history as the age of Helen, the age of self-activity, of self-consciousness, self-contemplation. But the sun and the stars are already whispering that the twentieth century shall be known as the reign of Beatrice — the age of God-activity, of God-con-

sciousness, of God-contemplation — when the ideal woman shall be made real in the lives of the women of earth; the age when there shall no longer be a separation between the woman in art and the woman in life, when it shall be as the laws of the Medes and Persians, "He loves not me who loves not honor more"— the age of applied idealism.

## The Civil and Social Evolution of Woman — Address by Elizabeth Cady Stanton of New York; Read by Susan B. Anthony of New York.

It has often been stated that if the majority of women really wanted their civil rights they could have them. This is doubtless true, since a whole nation could not, in the nature of things, be decapitated, nor the combined and persistent claim of a whole class in a community be ignored.

But the majority of women do not as yet appear to desire civil and political privilege. It seems, in fact, that more men than women are in favor of granting such privilege. The men who are of this opinion believe in citizenship, and recognize that strength comes from the resolute shouldering of responsibility, as the long, slender stem of the date palm grows steady when the leafy crown becomes heavy. They regard the suffrage as an expression of the true republican sentiment that those who obey the law should understand it, and help to frame it. They believe that with the help of women civilization would move on with faster and longer strides.

What is the reason that so many women are indifferent or averse to the assumption of civic duties? I think their natural conservativeness and their conscientiousness stand in the way. They already find in the complexity of our life numberless demands upon thought and strength. Their aspiration for increased knowledge and culture, their esthetic cravings, urge them to the limits of physical and mental endurance, and they feel that they can undertake

nothing more. If man is a little world, woman is expected to be a little universe—"all things by turns and nothing long." A woman must be versatile, and ready to fill any niche at a moment's notice. She must sew on a button or write a poem, must roast herself in the kitchen or receive guests in a drawing-room, with equal grace and facility; and what with keeping up her geography and her accomplishments she will beg to be excused from what she thinks the dry and uninteresting subjects of business, current events, and politics.

It is easier under such circumstances to lead the natural, old-fashioned life of daughter, wife, and mother in a sheltered home than to strike out upon the sea of life as a bread-winner in business or profession.

The former course keeps us in the beaten track of precedent, and holds us in what is particularly agreeable to timid and conservative people, a good fellowship with the majority. In Howell's "Undiscovered Country" we notice that the heroine gets tired of being phenomenal, and throws herself into the pleasures of dress and luxury with keen zest. It takes courage to go against the stream, to be independent and ahead of your generation; it needs a strong moral muscle to snap the withes of prejudice; it demands heroism to obey a law higher than the laws of sympathy and imitation; and if women, somewhat by nature and certainly by education, are lacking in such fiber, we can not be surprised at their slowness in rising to the emergencies of the hour.

How can we hasten the social and civil evolution of woman? Only by an education as to her true position in the physical and moral world, and as to her duty and her destiny. These views of women are not founded upon sentiment nor sentimentality — they do not take cognizance of her beauty and her helplessness, which are incidental merely — but they are founded upon the broad basis of philosophy and ethics.

Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill, the greatest phi-

losophers of our day, find women to be structurally the converse of men. Botany and biology prove that differentiation into sex is a secondary step in development; that the woman must be brought to a common denominator with man, and be considered invariably as a human being. If we once settle that truth for ourselves, every deduction we make comes easily, naturally, and forcibly.

Then women are to do whatever they find to do with all their might. They are to be properly trained for business, profession, or art; they are to be protected by public sentiment and law, and to be encouraged until they can stand alone.

Either obstacles must be removed or women must cultivate strength to overcome them; and, more than all, they must be made to see that they are of the people, and that the state belongs equally to them with men, and therefore must claim from them intellectual recognition and moral support.

MARGARET PARKER OF SCOTLAND OPENED THE DISCUSSION AS FOLLOWS:

I feel this to be one of the greatest privileges of my life to be able to follow your dear saint, Susan B. Anthony, as much revered in our country as she is in yours. I remember the time when these women were everywhere spoken against, and now you see this magnificent gathering is the result of their efforts. Let us, who are treading the flowery paths to-day, be thankful for the labors of those women who trod, with bleeding feet, the thorny paths forty and fifty years ago.

Now, your president has wished that all the discussions shall be both amiable and reasonable. I will try to be both.

In the old Jewish days the men used to say every Sabbath morning, "I thank thee, O God of my fathers, that I was not born a woman;" and the women said, "I thank thee,

O God of my fathers, that thou hast created me according to the good pleasure of thy will." And so to-day, when we look on this grand women's council, never possible until to-day, I think we may say, "I thank thee, O God of my fathers, that thou hast created me a woman." I was once taunted by the saying, "Women will never be equal to men," and I remember the retort of Ernestine L. Rose on one of our platforms in Edinburgh. She said to the chairman: "Mr. Chairman, I believe it is a law of nature that no stream can rise higher than its source."

It is but twenty years ago since Josephine Butler, the leader of the social-purity movement in my own country, was hooted in the streets of Liverpool, and people used to draw aside their skirts as they passed her. It was only eighteen months ago that in London there was a great meeting on this social question. The bishop of London was in the chair, and Josephine Butler sat at his right hand; and I thought of the time then and the time now. When Josephine Butler rose to speak all who were in the hall rose to their feet, and gave her what you call the "Chautauqua salute." But they were not content with that. Three times they rose to their feet, and the men waved their hats, and many of them sat down and hid their faces in their hands, thinking of the old times and of the new.

I was in the city of Edinburgh when the women students were trying to get a foothold to qualify themselves as physicians, and do you know that these women were hooted at, and had rotten eggs thrown at them?

The old University of St. Andrews, in Scotland, has opened every door to women. There is no section of philosophy or science that is not equally open to men and women, and that is owing to Prof. Knight, of St. Andrews. We like to remember those who have helped us.

I want to say now that fifty-one of the distinctions in the art classes were gained by the women in October last, and eight of the association students were kept for the M. D. degree on the 10th of October; so we are steadily advanc-

ing, and this old world is growing brighter. I can not restrain my emotion when I think of the glorious opportunities that are open to women. Let us rise to a sense of the importance of entering every open door.

Now, dear friends, let us women in Great Britain, and you women in America, and the women from every land, clasp hands, while we pledge ourselves that we will labor and pray for the early dawning of that day when women as well as men shall be free politically, socially, and in every department of life.

M. LOUISE THOMAS OF NEW YORK, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WOMAN'S CENTENARY ASSOCIATION, THUS CONTINUED THE DISCUSSION:

We seem to see the fulfillment of the prophecy, "The meek shall inherit the earth." A victory has been won by patient, loving women, whose souls have been stirred from the earliest days by suffering under inequality, while patiently bearing the limitations, and waiting for this hour. I can not help thinking to-day of those who wrought without even hope of final success in this world; who waited for the fulfillment of their desires in that better land where all is perfect justice. In the early days of California I remember being told of a miner, who took up a claim, saying, "The signs here lead to gold." He worked on until one by one his fellows fell apart from him. Still he wrought on alone until the months ran into years, and his fellow-men said he was becoming insane. He was growing old and his arms were growing feeble. The time was drawing near for him to rest, when other men, won by the power of his enthusiasm and his patience, said, "We will take his place." These new men, with the power which capital gives, placed their improved machinery at work, and soon the marvelous riches of a Comstock mine lay spread before the world.

Now, gentlemen and ladies, that early worker typifies the

women who wrought alone in the darkness. The capitalists who came in to gather the gold, and spread it upon the earth, represent those of to-day who, seeing the work of the women, see, also, the need of women's influence upon the earth. Let us then not seek to win fine praises; let us not ask men for their applause; let us only ask that our work shall be measured, and that justice shall be done.

DR. EMILY HOWARD STOWE OF CANADA, PRESIDENT OF THE WOMAN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT ASSOCIATION OF CANADA, CONTINUED THE DISCUSSION IN A BRIEF ADDRESS, READ BY DR. AUGUSTA STOWE GULLEN OF CANADA.

Man, and I use the term in its generic sense, is preëminently a social being, but to be entirely companionable there must be on the different planes of our being that equalized social evolution which alone can result in harmony. I believe that the social element in woman has been choked and stifled by the ignorance, the stupidity, and the selfishness of man, as also by her own indifference to the demands of her higher self.

A person can not evolve what he has not involved; and whatever women en masse lack in their social development is the direct result of the barriers placed in woman's pathway to such development by her brother man, who viewed her as standing only at the level of the lower or physical plane of his being. I need not substantiate my statement by illustrations to this intelligent audience; I need not go back and refer to man's antagonism to woman's acquiring knowledge, even of the alphabet. Every progressive, at least every professional, woman of to-day knows right well how much energy and time she has been forced to sacrifice in her efforts to secure the means necessary to her evolution; and even when her efforts have been crowned with success, how tardily the recognition has been awarded her. Herculean have been the efforts that have won for the woman of to-day her social and civil standing.

Primitive man, having acquired ascendency over his fellows through muscular power, relegated woman, with her less objective and less material forces, to an inferior plane; and this fact has been an active factor in the long, dark past, ever tending to depress woman, who is eminently the conserver of the subtler and higher powers.

The nineteenth century has brought a reversal of the old order, has discovered woman's potentialities, and to-day is using them wisely and well. She has found her true place in the realm of the ideal, and by the force of her great love-power is bringing man, the offspring of her love, up the mountain with her. Neither men nor women are as yet developed, socially or civilly, to the highest of their capabilities. One can not very far transcend the other, linked as they are by the common ties of nature and blood. Humanity is a unit, and the sooner we all discover the problem of life, and work for the equal and harmonious evolution of universal humanity, the sooner will an all-round social and civil evolution be attained.*

## Woman as a Social Leader — Address by Josefa Humpal-Zeman of Bohemia.

In the very beginning of the human race woman had the care of children and the home, or whatever might serve for a home. As the race developed, passing from one stage to another, from simple to more complex, her home duties enlarged, and soon formed a nucleus of society, so that in the early history of the Egyptian and Hebrew peoples we find woman already a great factor in social life.

This influence grew until the age of Greece and Rome was reached, where usage, more despotic and tyrannical than law, exacted of matrons and other women a life of

* Dr. Jennie de la M. Lozier concluded the discussion with an admirable address, of which, however, no report is obtainable.

extreme seclusion, forbidding them to live in society, to cultivate the exquisite social arts which give intellectual interest to the female sex. Yet, had not these women burned with noble aspirations and patriotism Greece would never have had her greatest patriots. And even where such strict effort was made to keep women out of wider social influence, women like Sappho, Aspasia, Lais, and Phryne held a preëminently brilliant position, being courted by philosophers, poets, politicians, and princes. In Rome there was a decided change in the position of women. The Roman matron possessed all the patriotism of the Spartan, without her cruelty and coarseness, and all the purity of the Athenian without her extreme seclusion; and yet, as Mr. Higginson says, "She fell short of the modern European in that intellectual refinement and high accomplishment which, combined with virtue, belong exclusively to Christendom."

In the social life of the Roman woman we see a decided step forward, for her influence outgrew the limits of her family, and she became a factor in national enterprises. The oft-quoted Cornelia, the inspiration of the Gracchi; or Tullia Attia, the genius of Octavius; or the women of Rome, during the siege by Brennus and the battle of Cannae, giving their jewels for the service of the republic, testify to a great interest in the national crises, and comprehension of them.

Again we find in the history of the French Revolution that society seemed to be disorganized. When men were intoxicated with the thirst for blood, women, like Madame de Staël, Madame Necker, Madame Tallien and others, used all their power to reorganize the social system, opening their salons, in which men were inspired to nobler efforts, rescuing the unfortunate victims from the guillotine, and bringing with them peace and order.

While man acted as the provider and protector of home and society, woman was the leader and inspiration of it, serving always where she was most needed. Her life and

influence were not isolated from the lives of others of her day, and she in her own way carried out the motives of her generation. In great emergencies, from the days when Boadicea ruled the Iceni, to the late Civil War in America, women have been brought forward.

But that was only in critical times; otherwise her influence was hampered by established customs, and whenever she branched out from her so-called sphere there was a great uproar raised by her brothers, which forced her back, and so prevented her from serving society more effectually. This has decidedly changed in our century, and the most forcible proof of this change is the Congress of Representative Women.

With the dawn of this wonderful century woman's influence in society has broadened, and not only does she wield power in her home, but her influence has spread on all sides. She has entered the domain of letters as a novelist, like George Sand and George Eliot; as a philosopher, like Harriet Martineau; as a scientist, like Maria Mitchell and Miss Edwards; as a poetess, like Mrs. Barrett Browning. She has entered the jealously guarded university, the church, and the various professions, and she is proving herself a great factor in the history of the human race.

We wonder why society has not been revolutionized; why there are so many millions of suffering, forsaken people in this world; why society seems to be on the cone of a volcano most of the time; why there is such dissatisfaction and unrest among the greater part of mankind; why there can not be more idealistic conditions in the present century, when women, who have so many noble aspirations and motives, such wonderful power, have their hands free, and could do so much for humanity.

These questions have puzzled wiser heads than mine; they are growing more difficult each day, because we are living in a transition time. In no other century have there been more discoveries, opening to men vast treasures of natural forces which may be utilized for the benefit of man-

kind, more changes in government and in society. Caste is gradually sinking away under the brilliant light of education. All classes of men are discovering that they have a value; that their lives are needed as much as those of their wealthier neighbors. The old idea that the useless man was only the poor man is passing away, and sentiments like the following are being expressed:

"We are greatly mistaken if we think that paupers are simply persons clothed in rags, incapable of self-support. They are rather those, rich and poor, who, having strength to be useful, are useless. It is not sufficient to be picturesque; the medieval beggar was very picturesque. Every life must be judged from its relations to society."

The poor, the middle class, and the rich, all are parts of this great organism, each having a function to perform. And the most interesting fact of it all is that these working classes are beginning to know that they are useful to society, and are clamoring for recognition from it. Because they do not receive it they are growing dissatisfied, and even dangerous. All through Europe a strong undercurrent is working among the ordinary people; and while the better classes are feasting and having good cheer the ground under their feet is being dug away by these great currents. The same is true here in America.

This unrest, this dissatisfaction with the present condition of society, is ruinous to progress and development. Especially here in the United States, where society was founded on a democratic basis, where each man was free and as good as his neighbor, where working classes are better educated than in any other country, society has been growing far apart from its original aim, shaping itself into distinct castes, and dividing the nation into separate parts, so that at present we have two very distinct classes — the very rich and the very poor — far apart, almost unknown to each other. The rich, wasting their strength in receptions and calls in the day, and in balls and feasting at night, give no permanent good to society; the poor, frequenting

miserable saloons at night, and sleeping under sidewalks by day, bring no good to society. Both of these classes are wasting a vast amount of intellectual force and energy, which, if used, could be of immense help. But it is not my intention to make a discourse on political economy. I only touch upon these puzzling questions because they are having influence upon that same society in which we live, and which we women can influence. Women, if we wish to be leaders we must have the "understanding of the times," and know what is before us and where our aid is most needed.

"The trouble is that the most effectual, the most charming, the most powerful, and the most intellectual women are too much shut up in their own social circles to know anything about the great currents of existence, even in their own neighborhood. What chance have they to develop as members of this community, as social factors in the wider sense, as American citizens, as an influence for incitement, direction, or restraint?"

These words which I have just quoted were uttered by a woman, Mrs. Van Rensselaer. In them she has touched the keynote, as has also Miss Jane Addams, who has turned prophet, and with the sternness of Isaiah cries out: "The time may come when the politician who sells one by one to the highest bidder all the offices in his grasp will not be considered more base in his code of morals, more hardened in his practice, than the woman who constantly invites to her receptions those alone who bring her an equal social return, who shares her beautiful surroundings only with those who minister to a liking she has for successful social events. In doing this she is as unmindful of the common weal, as unscrupulous in her use of power, as is any city boss who consults only the interests of the 'ring.'"

"How, then, can women become leaders of society during this time of critical unrest and transition?" you ask. I answer, Women have more real influence upon society today than men have. Men in this industrial and commer-

cial age are absorbed in business enterprises, and leave the home, the church, social, and philanthropic enterprises almost wholly in the hands of their mothers, sisters, and wives.

In this way all women, of every class and condition of life, are forming the social character of humanity. I have said all women, and this should bring our minds to reflection, for it includes the rich, the intellectual, the bourgeoise, the working-woman, and the slum-woman. Now, if all these women could have only the understanding of the times, and could comprehend the wonderful influence, power, and possibilities which they possess, could feel the full meaning of the words "mother," "wife," "human being," we should fear no danger; but as it is, since the great majority know nothing of the higher feelings, the greater responsibility falls upon the better-educated women. And in order that these better-fitted women may enlarge their influence and reach these great masses, they must give up some of their hobbies; they must stop priding themselves that they are a part of Euclid, Fifth, or Wabash avenues; they must pride themselves that they are a part of humanity. They should use the talents which their Creator bestowed upon them for the betterment of those who have them not; and if they did this the world would become much larger and more beautiful, because it would be their world.

This is the feeling that is now filling the minds of the thoughtful women, sending them to colleges and universities, and from there to college and social settlements, to working girl's clubs, to slums as missionaries and kindergarten teachers; it is this which makes them patronesses of orphan asylums, of refuges and other benevolent institutions, and gives the modern woman that humane feeling for which she is respected and loved.

But there is not too much of such feeling, and society could endure more of it. Every large city could afford to have from ten to fifteen college settlements, where women would

come to live, not to preach, but with their lives to show what life is for and what it means to live. If we can not all go to live in these college settlements, or work as missionaries, we can keep our eyes and hearts open to the needs of humanity, and at least once a week become general human beings, step off from our society Olympus, and go into the other part of the city, and see if there is any lack there which we can fill. By doing this we should not only be a blessing to those who need us, but we should learn to know life, learn to know mankind, and gain some influence over the masses. We should gradually build a bridge over the chasm which is now dividing the classes of society, and smother the flames that are now blazing in millions of hearts; we should see the needs of society, and then only should we know what it means to be "social leaders."

The woman who is queen of some "four hundred" is not a leader in society, and never was one; the true leaders were always those who contributed to general society some permanent good.

## THE ETHICS OF DRESS — ADDRESS BY ALICE TIMMONS TOOMY OF CALIFORNIA.

Woman in her relations to dress seems to belong to one of two classes — the woman to whom dress is a source of real enjoyment, in spite of all its trouble and worry, and the woman to whom dress is simply an obligation, if not a troublesome duty. Most of the busy, earnest women that I know seem forced to belong to this latter class. The continuous changes of fashion, the difficulty of finding what is suitable in fabrics and trimmings, and after this the struggle with arbitrary dressmakers, combine to deaden any lingering satisfaction that dress may possess for women whose time and attention have many worthy claims. I am sure I do but express the wish and hope of every earnest woman attending this great congress that, before its

adjournment, some solution of the dress problem may be arrived at.

The ethics of dress present themselves to my mind under the three heads of comfort, suitability, and beauty. It would seem as though the natural instinct of human beings would be to make themselves bodily comfortable. The natural instincts show themselves in infancy. A healthy baby cries if its bands are tight, if its limbs are restrained, or when an unpleasant covering is put on its head. The baby girl resists restrictions, but centuries of inherited submission to conventionalities and limitations of sphere, bring the tiny girl readily into the bondage of "what people will think"; so that before the little girl of the privileged class is five years old she has accepted proprieties and restrictions as sacred laws, in which, alas! nature and comfort play very little part.

We hinder the little girl from noisy, boisterous play, such as all young animals require. We tell her that she will "spoil her pretty clothes," "muss her hair," or be "unladylike" by frolicking as a natural child should. We compress her physical life as the Chinese lady compresses her feet. We corset her infant activities, and give her jewelry, sashes, and pink shoes in compensation. Thus, it seems to me, is smothered in early childhood the instinct for comfort and nature in womankind.

Loving, devoted mothers, who, on the one hand, are ready to make any sacrifice for the good of their children, accept blindly, none the less, the traditional method of physical restriction for little girls. Is it any wonder that the little girl so early in life settles down to imitate mamma in the cares of doll housekeeping, and learns to find discreet recreation in dress, jewelry, and beaux? Let us for a moment consider the underlying, unconscious motive that dictates this inhuman bringing up of girls. Shall we not find that it springs from what Thomas Wentworth Higginson calls "the lingering light of the harem"; from the same motive that induces the Circassian parents of a handsome daughter to

prevent her from doing hard work, or making her hands rough, so as to fit her the better for sale? Those devoted nineteenth-century mothers, who themselves blindly follow the absurd fashions made by the capricious "demi-monde" of Europe, are thus unconsciously following the traditional limitations for women by training and educating their daughters for the marriage market.

Is it to be wondered at that so few women know how to be bodily comfortable, or even try to be so? If great philosophers are led to exclaim, "How shall a man escape from his ancestors?" may not we women, with doubly just reason, ask, "How shall a woman escape from her bringing-up?"

When we recall in our experience the hindrances and follies of our bringing-up, must we not consider the existence of a body of such intellectual and progressive women as I see before me to be a miracle of evolution? We have not reached the ideal comfort in dress, but we are seeking for it, and what a body of earnest women seek for they are apt to find.

In my opinion the same cause that prevents comfort in dress prevents appropriateness in dress — namely, a want of independent and self-respecting study of our true relations to life. We accept custom and fashion blindly. We wear silks and velvets, laces and diamonds, everywhere and at any time, ignorant or regardless of their fitness; partly from a natural love of adornment, but still more, I think, from a desire to seem rich. One frequently hears the question discussed whether women dress to please men or to please women. Either motive seems unworthy. As far as I am able to judge, the real motive in the follies of woman's dress is deference to the old Jewish idea that it was a disgrace to a woman to be unmarried.

Competition for husbands seems to regulate the undress of the ball-room and the rigid adherence to fashion. As regards the consideration of beauty in dress, a sense of true beauty must, I think, always include the idea of comfort and appropriateness. Ruskin says that "the beauty of

anything consists in its fitness to its purpose." No form can be beautiful that is tightly pinioned by bones and steels; velvet and diamonds, however beautiful in themselves, cease to be beautiful when worn in the kitchen.

The world has reached a stage of advancement when reasonable people seem to agree that the desire to be beautiful is a legitimate inclination of the human heart, and can no longer be regarded as a sign of sinfulness or depravity. The love of the artistic and the beautiful has made an immense growth in the past few years. Combinations of fabric and color that are a delight to the eyes meet us every day on the street and in show-windows, and are training us to appreciate one form of the beautiful. It is true that there is born of this very contact with lovely fabrics a desire for dress and luxury, which has given rise to the saying that "the fetish of woman is fashion, as the fetish of man is money." Nevertheless there is a controlling undercurrent of good common-sense among us that is always curative when the evil becomes recognizable.

Very few women, and still fewer men, understand the powerful result for beauty or ugliness that certain colors have when brought close to the face. The moral influence of color, also, has begun to be studied. Many physicians forbid nervous women to wear black, because of the depressing influence it has on the nerves. It has been found that color is an important aid in the treatment of mental diseases. Conditions of great excitement are allayed by putting the patient into a violet or blue room; melancholia and depression are dispelled by surrounding the sufferer with red.

By the use of a text-book in schools the general principles of the ethics and esthetics of dress might be learned by young people. Dress might thus become the expression of the individual. What an immense help toward the knowledge of a person it would be if in a sweep of the eye from bonnet to boots one could not only take in the coloring, shape, and ornamentation of a woman's dress, but

gauge at the same time her common-sense and culture. As it is, the relation of many sensible women to dress, nowadays, is pitiful. The instinctive desire to avoid singularity forces them to the adoption of some modification of the prevailing mode, and to a compromise with good sense and judgment. In our day every one seems to be presumed to be young, consequently no fashion is prepared for middle or old age. The mere finding for a middle-aged or elderly woman a head covering which bears an approach to common-sense involves a vast loss of time and effort. One of the climaxes of the folly of fashion is, that tiny "cockatoo" headgear is considered proper to adorn old and wrinkled faces, while broad-brimmed, practical shade-hats crown young, fresh, pretty faces. We elderly women are thrown on our ingenuity and courage, and are forced to waste our time planning some middle ground between the two extremes.

Should you ask me, Does the present condition seem too difficult for remedy? I would remind you that four hundred years ago the cavalier's dress presented more follies and discomforts than does the dress of the woman of to-day. The long curls, the slashed and jeweled doublet, the cloak that hung from one shoulder, and the hat with drooping feathers that would stand neither rain nor wind, in days when umbrellas were not yet in vogue — this dress lasted long because it was most decorative, and man was then an ornamental being.

Out of the cavalier's dress was evolved the man's dress of the Revolutionary era — the curled and powdered wig, the hat with no depth of crown, satin knee-breeches as tight as could be borne, silk stockings, low shoes with jeweled buckles, the coat that left the chest exposed in order to show embroidered shirt and lace ruffles. This dress did not, it is true, include corsets, but in other respects it was as senseless and inconvenient as the most ultra fashions of the modern woman's dress, and gave less evidence of individual judgment or good sense.

This was the man still ornamental, but on whom the sense of a higher manhood was dawning. Imagine a man in such a dress trudging through snow and mud to go to business every day, minus the modern umbrella, rubber-coat, and overshoes. Now, it was just this factor of business that brought man's dress to its present common-sense style. Out of this dress of the Revolutionary era was evolved the practical, sensible clothes of the man of to-day — a dress which is, it is true, almost devoid of lines of beauty, but which enables man to "live, and move, and have his being" without trammel.

As in all nature and among savages it is the male who is most adorned, and most given to folly in dress, because he is chiefly an ornamental animal, so it is the development of self-dependence, the increase of rights and privileges of free manhood, that have evolved the rationally dressed man of to-day out of the powdered-wigged, satin-breeched man of the Revolutionary time. The same causes will naturally bring about the same results in the dress of woman.

So, when every mother gives her little girl full freedom for physical development, and talks to her of the profession, trade, or business she is going to learn; when each girl is taught to look forward with pride to a career for bread-winning which will leave her free to marry the man of her choice, and not make marriage a pursuit and a necessity, as it too often is at present; when the great body of women learn to regard themselves as the guardians of morals, the creators of standards; when a career is sought for a girl, just as it is for a boy; when parents recognize that the only protection to their daughters against unhappy, loveless marriages, and their consequent divorce and crime, lies in having a source of income in the use of their own capabilities — then the present follies of dress will be given up naturally.

MARGARET WINDEYER OF AUSTRALIA, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WOMANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE OF NEW SOUTH WALES, INTRODUCED THE DISCUSSION AS FOLLOWS:

In considering the ethics of dress there are three points I should like to bring before your notice — vanity, economy, and construction. I consider that a greater simplicity in the dress of gentlewomen would lead to a decrease in wrong-doing. It is the imitative faculty which leads one woman to desire to dress as well as another who has a larger share of this world's goods. A foolish consciousness of self, which in this instance we may term vanity, is the cause of the downfall of some women.

It behooves every worthy woman to do all in her power to lessen this kind of personal vanity among young women of all classes. So strongly do I feel on this matter that I have sometimes advocated the adoption of a national dress as a means of producing simplicity.

But in apparent opposition to these remarks I should like to make an apology on behalf of many young women who do think and do talk much about their clothes, and who may therefore seem frivolous. These are girls who with small allowances and a certain amount of position must dress according to their station. These may, by reason of economy, appear as well dressed as their wealthier friends, kinsfolk, and acquaintances; and though a proud knowledge that their economy and careful purchasing enables them to present a good appearance, leads them, perhaps, to think more of dress than properly busy women should have time for, still into their thoughts on dress vanity will not enter. The third point is the interest of construction. To make a perfect article has a charm for some minds, and the question of bias bands or a straight flounce, of stripes or a floral design, then becomes a matter of moment; and this interest, and the talk that follows, are only part of a desire to produce a perfect whole.

REV. ANTOINETTE BROWN BLACKWELL OF NEW JERSEY THUS CONTINUED THE DISCUSSION:

Nature ornaments everything which she creates, but nature makes no ornaments which are not useful. To the specifications given by the last speaker, I have two or three others to add. One is utility. Now, though nature builds us most beautiful things, she makes beauty and utility to go side by side everywhere. Man and woman in this respect have never yet attempted to imitate nature. We should have the beautiful, perhaps, as much in view as ever, but we should not wish, therefore, to weight every woman with useless incumbrances. The many pieces which woman wears, the many ways of fastening, and the flimsy material which is always catching everywhere, may be very pretty, but they are certainly not useful. You know if we wish to sleep at night and wake in the morning at a certain hour, we can set our minds on it and do so, but we wake up unrefreshed. Now, my accusation against woman's dress is that woman sets her mind, or a part of her mind, to look after her gown, and she never has her whole power at her command. A part of her mind is not available. Woman should dress in such a way as to be entirely unconscious of her apparel.

Another point that I should like to speak of is good common-sense applied to our dress. We have simply allowed fashion and circumstances to move us forward. Man has been moved forward, and so has woman, but not because anybody has really studied the subject, and attempted to say: "Now we will adapt the clothing of these people to the people themselves." You know how long it takes nature to give us good fruit, if she is left to herself. She gives us a crab-apple first, but it is man, and mind, and good applied sense which give us our beautiful garden fruits and vegetables; and we should apply to the dress of woman the full principle that, as rational beings,

we should dress according to our character and circumstances, and not go floundering on as we have in the past.

One other point. We know that the great temptation to the poor woman is not only to exceed her income, but even to sell herself, that she may be finely arrayed. We know that the suffering which comes to poor women comes often in connection with their dress; and yet we do not remember that we, to some extent, are responsible for this. Let us apply humanity to the dress question.

There is one good rule which a dear old lady gave in regard to dress. She said: "Let your garments be so good and so near the style that your companions and associates will not be mortified or in any way compromised by your appearance." That seems to be a sensible rule for present guidance.

LAURA ORMISTON CHANT OF ENGLAND, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CENTRAL NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE, THE BRITISH SECTION OF THE WORLD'S WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION, AND THE WOMAN'S ANTI-OPIUM URGENCY COMMITTEE, CONTINUED THE DISCUSSION THUS:

The canon of dressing is that you shall so appear as not to be a nuisance to your neighbors or yourself. The ethics of dress require that you and I shall, as far as in us lies, not wear anything the securing of which has given unnecessary pain to any being in the whole of God's world; and that leads into the great question of dressing thoughtlessly and carelessly. We are made to think, and thinking requires that we should know something of the history of a piece of stuff before it comes to be ours. When I think of how many lives have been darkened by the unspoken sorrow lying in clothing, when I think of how many a heartbreak has been stitched into a bonnet, how many a ruined life has been sewn up in the seams of a gown, it is not too

much to ask women who have had intelligence and power enough to be able to meet in this great Congress, to take their stand among those who will have nothing to do with clothing that has not been produced on the lines of rectitude and equity. There was a color so fashionable eight or nine years ago that every woman wanted to have a little bit of it, which was produced at the cost of the illness, and even the dying, of those who produced it; and to-day we should band ourselves together as Christian, civilized women, and say: "We will not adorn ourselves with what is to be procured by the unhappiness and the destruction of any life in this world." And yet, color is to be a great gospel in the future. We have as yet not trodden on the threshold of what the meaning of color and the harmonizing of colors are to be. God has known it through all the ages. He has been speaking to us about what color means in all the waste places and wild places of the earth. For many a long year every woman that I have met has, to me, taken on a color or a tint. It has been difficult for me to see form, but I think I was born to see color. Form has been a matter of education.

I want also to say this to you, that whenever mankind and womankind are lazy, and dignified in laziness, they are certain to adopt a monotonous agreement. Now I am going to say something heretical about black. Mothers who have children should never wear black. While my children were little I never wore a black dress within their sight. I myself am so dominated by color, so subtly influenced by it, that there are certain platforms upon which I can not speak so well as I can upon others, because of the coloring. That is because I have analyzed, it may be, my own springs of success and failure. A great many of us are dominated in the same way and do not know it.

When the ethics of dress first came up, what great laughter there was about it! How Punch caricatured Mrs. Brown and Mr. Postlewait, and all the rest of the Oscar Wildeists! But we to-day are infinitely better in our cloth-

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ing, in our coloring, and in our ideas of art, because of the crude, rugged violence that those apostles did to our Philistinism. Then there is something else to be said about the ethics of clothing. Men and women are not the only sentient beings upon this earth. The dumb creatures are dumb only because you and I can not understand the language they speak. I am certain that when the animals and the birds pray, God hears their prayers. It is only because we haven't learned their language that we do not know what they are saying, and realize the agony of their crying because of our cruelty. But I do say to every woman here who has a heart of tenderness, an ear for harmony, and an eye for coloring — How can you and I be partners in the great cruelty and dishonesty of robbing God's plaisances of all their loveliest denizens — the singing birds, the jewel-bedecked birds, and the little animals who have never harmed us? I see some hats and bonnets around me with things in them that I was forever cured of wearing two and a half years ago. I had gone down to give a lecture in one of our smaller country towns wearing upon my bonnet an aigrette, and after I reached home again there came a letter saying: "Dear Mrs. Chant, when I saw on your bonnet the other night that aigrette, through my tears I wondered how a woman so tender as you are could be so cruel. I think that you can not know that those aigrettes are taken from the mother and father herons just when the little ones are most needing their care." This was a voice from God sent through a human pen, and I cut the aigrette out of my bonnet. No one has said that my bonnets have not been quite as pretty and becoming since. It is a great pity, isn't it, with such an embarrassment of riches in the way of beautiful things, that we should encourage a great army of men to be ruthlessly and brutally cruel?

One of the worst bargain-hunters I know of is one of the richest women; it is not the poor ones only who hunt for bargains. When you go along the streets of Chicago at

night, and walk behind a girl who looks as if life were not going to be a happy thing for her, remember that very often — poor girl — she is the product of the careless woman who likes to have bargains, and wants to have everything as cheap as possible; who, instead of paying a proper price for one thing, and being able to enjoy it, pays an unrighteous price for a dozen things, and never has any enjoyment out of any of them.

ELIZABETH KRECKER OF PENNSYLVANIA CONTINUED THE DISCUSSION THUS:

Shall we dress according to our own convictions, regardless of the opinions of others? Considering the state of the world, how much time, thought, and money, beyond procuring decent, hygienic clothing, shall go to dress? These are some of the questions we must consider.

It seems to me that we should not compromise on our convictions of beauty, ease, and utility, that we should follow the fashions only so far as they do not interfere with our convictions.

I have found some thoughts of others which fitly express my ideas on this point: "It will be evident to all lovers of nature that no fashions can be in good taste that seem to imply a contempt for the beautiful arrangement of created things." "A dress which is in accordance with the age, complexion, and situation can never be wondered at as out of the way, or laughed at as not being in the fashion."

On the need of beauty in dress: "As if he who so clothes the grass of the fields that even the meanest forms of his handiwork are lovely beyond all our poor imitating, were displeased in our delight in that wherein he most continually delights."

The question of time, money, and thought is treated in this way: "The evil begins where woman is absorbed in clothes, and regards herself as a sort of peg whereon to

hang a variety of gowns." "Let us only so clothe ourselves," wrote Dinah Mulock Craik, "that this frail body of ours while it does last may not be unpleasing in the sight of those who love us; and let us so use it in this life that in the life to come it may be found worthy to be 'clothed upon' with its Maker's own glorious immortality."

OCTAVIA WILLIAMS BATES OF MICHIGAN THUS CONCLUDED THE DISCUSSION:

From observation and thinking about women and their work in the world, and from a thorough study of the literature of the "Reform Dress Movement," it has been my conviction for years that there is nothing which more closely and intimately concerns the well-being of women, and through them the welfare of the race, than their dress — not only in its physical effects upon the woman herself, but in its ulterior and more enduring effects upon the mental and moral status of mankind. If the dress of women has such important influences upon themselves and upon the men with whom they are associated, if this influence extends to the born and to the unborn, as it certainly does, then the question of dress becomes ethical and vital, and it assumes the importance of a subject worthy of our highest thought and our most serious consideration. True Christianity gives encouragement and impetus to this idea, for it teaches that the body is a beautiful temple, to be guarded as a sacred trust and a most precious possession; that it is a noble instrument upon which mind and spirit play; a servant, whose rewards are many and great for kind and intelligent treatment, but whose revenge is terrible for ignorance and willful abuse.

Hence, anything that interferes with the natural and harmonious working of the body is wrong from an ethical or moral point of view. Consequently, as a natural result of this teaching, the wearing of any garment that impedes the

circulation of the blood or hinders the free play of the muscles must be considered wrong.

The wearing of any ligature that keeps the lungs from their full action in aerating the blood is wrong; the wearing of any style of dress that keeps the woman who wears the dress from doing her full share of the work of the world is wrong. These things are all wrong, in that they lessen the health and vigor of the individual, make her a weaker member of society, and lessen her efficiency and usefulness in any line of work.

"The judgments of science pronounced against dress from a hygienic standpoint are judgments against it from a moral standpoint," says Mrs. Ecob, and all right-minded persons must coincide with her opinion. It is worthy of note that the present style of dress for women confines their activities within very narrow limits, and really closes many avenues of honorable and lucrative employment that might be open to them if they wore a different style of dress. Girls in factories are not allowed to tend certain machines because of the flowing garments that they wear. Managers of manufactories say that there are many machines that women could run as well as men were it not for the danger of their clothing becoming entangled in the belting of the machinery. It is not a question here of brains or of strength at all, but simply one of dress. There are undoubtedly thousands and thousands of women out of employment to-day in the United States, who, if they were clothed suitably for such work, might find agreeable and remunerative labor in shops and manufactories.

The ethics of any question is always closely allied to the esthetics of the same subject. Nothing can be esthetic that is opposed to ethical principles, and so we find that the esthetics of dress is continually touching the ethics of dress. A perfectly healthful dress may not be in accordance with esthetic principles, but an essentially esthetic dress must be, of necessity, one that conforms to the laws of health of the body it covers. A trained gown worn

upon the street, gathering up filth and the germs of disease, is an unsightly object, and offends our esthetic sense, because it is out of harmony with the surroundings, and the wearing of it becomes a question of ethics, when we consider the harm it does in crippling its wearer and endangering the comfort and even the life of others.

It is strange that good and thinking men, as a class, do not try to further the study of woman's dress from a hygienic and moral standpoint, and do not endeavor to aid in the evolution of a more rational dress than the one that has fettered woman for so many years, and which now retards her from reaching the full development of all her powers. One would naturally think that every intelligent, conscientious man would immediately recognize the great underlying principles beneath this question of woman's dress; and would use his influence toward freeing women from their bondage to clothes; and instead of flinging ridicule and abuse, and retarding her progress, would extend a helping hand to every effort his sister is making toward gaining a higher plane of life and of action.

On the contrary, it is practically denied among men that there is any ethical principle in the dress of women. Few men have even thought of this side of the question, and but few fathers and husbands have had their attention directed to the fretfulness, ill-temper, and peevishness of women as results of false dressing, to the danger to life and limb that lurks in their gowns, to the dependence and cowardice that inevitably become characteristic of those who wear entangling skirts. If men could be aroused to the importance of this question, they would very soon realize that it concerns more important interests than their pocket-books. They would find that sons as well as daughters suffer from the physical degeneracy of their mothers, and that crime seems to be a necessary concomitant of the physically depraved. To many thinkers the question of the dress of our women has more to do with the question of temperance than prohibition or total abstinence. They

say that the vicious modes of dressing our women, are having their legitimate effect upon the children of this country, and that an unnatural craving for stimulants is one of the results of the physical deterioration of the race.

Surely all these facts point to the ethical principle in dress, and demand the attention and study of the philanthropists and teachers, the legislators and leaders of our time.

Through a recognition of the importance of the ethical principles in dress much ought to be accomplished toward the evolution of sensible, healthful, and esthetic dress for women, and by this means the path would be made easier for the development of the woman of the future, who, assisted by health-restoring forms of dress, ought to be a woman with a more enduring physique than the woman of to-day, and who, with a strong and healthy body, should be in consequence a woman with a better developed brain and a more sensitive spiritual nature — a woman keenly alive to all the beauties and harmonies of nature and strong to meet the opportunities and responsibilities of her world.

## WOMAN'S DRESS FROM THE STANDPOINT OF SOCIOLOGY, ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR ELLEN HAYES (WELLESLEY COLLEGE) OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Evolution has been defined as the elimination of the incongruous. In the process of elimination, however, an incongruity may be accentuated. It is proposed in this paper to discuss an incongruity which has probably reached its maximum accentuation; I mean the dress of modern civilized woman, viewed in its relation to environment.

Dress originated in decoration. The first stage is one of paint and tattoo. Following this is what we may call the bear-claw necklace period. Later, with the genesis of modesty, man covers some portions of his body. Invading cold

regions, he meets the severities of climate by putting on the skins of the animals which he has slain. In a still higher stage he drapes himself with woven fabrics; and finally the male sex is wrapped in a dress conforming in shape to the outlines of the body. Taking and giving hard blows in battle, leveling forests, and building cities, man learned to dress so as to secure protection and freedom of movement. War-paint did not win battles; drapery proved an impediment. The unsuitable and fragile has been discarded, and a dress has been evolved which meets man's needs. His two legs are plainly and warmly clad in a garment which offers the least friction with wayside objects, and hence occasions least waste of power to the wearer. It is a garment equally suitable for the drawing-room and the deck of a ship; for the street, the forest, and the mountain-top. His two arms are similarly clothed; the dress of those arms is what one would expect in a world scored with railroads and threaded with wires. For his head he has a plain covering, easily adjusted and as easily removed. His feet are well shod. His hands hold onto their ancient privilege of going bare. Primitive man fought to gain and retain; and the desire for possessions, so far from diminishing, has steadily increased. Man has continued to put wealth into such compact shape that he can carry about his person that which represents lands and goods. Besides this he chooses also to carry conveniences which are the symbols of civilization. Thus his garments have been more and more differentiated until they now have from ten to fifteen specialized receptacles. No one will claim that the dress of man is yet perfect; but it is not easy to see how any marked improvement could be made, for there is, from top to toe, a correlation between the clothing and the needs of the body to be clothed.

Consider now the dress of woman; assuming ourselves to be ignorant of the habits and pursuits of the wearer, what might we infer from the conventional dress? We notice that utility is much subordinated to ornament. The motive

may not appear, but the fact is obvious. The head-covering gives rise to doubt whether the wearer ever goes out in it, for it does not protect from heat or cold, from rain or sunshine. Moreover, it indicates that the female head is very different from the male head as to both shape and dimensions. The principal body-covering is seen to consist of a tight-fitting garment, confining the muscles on the outside of the bony framework and repressing the action of vital organs within — this is assuming that the wearer has lungs and a heart and a stomach, as man has. Auxiliary to this fitted body-covering is another contrivance designed to act with the outer one in securing a general smoothness and immobility. Following this is the masterpiece of the entire apparel, a garment not bifurcated, and hence best adapted to a creature with but one leg. It is composed of voluminous folds, more or less ornamented, and of considerable weight. It appears also that this weight is sometimes suspended from that part of the body that probably contains the most delicate and most easily displaced of all the organs. Looking at the entire article, it seems most reasonable to suppose that, whether the wearer has one or two legs, she is not expected to walk much. This hypothesis gains further support when the length of this leg-covering is considered. It reaches practically to the ground. Indeed it has been known to lie several inches upon the ground. The term "ground" is used figuratively, for it is not to be supposed that the wearer goes outside of the house in this raiment. The dust of the street is known to contain disease germs, and surely no intelligent person would consent to trail about after her a garment that could gather up such dust in addition to the filth that is visible to the naked eye. The foot and hand coverings are corollaries to the expression of the other portions of the attire. Last of all, that most insignificant sociologic feature of man's dress, the pocket, is rudimentary or lacking. The dress thus described admits of but one theoretical interpretation. The wearer of these garments can not be a person of much

activity, either physical or mental. Surely she can not travel, making either long or short journeys, because the prevailing systems of transit are not adapted to any one so tied up and helpless. Of course field sports are not for her; she could not be expected to run, or row, or throw. The street, the garden, the market-place are obviously to be avoided. Housework, such as sweeping and cooking, could be done only with much difficulty and fatigue. Going up and down stairs would be dangerous, especially if she were to attempt to carry an important burden, such as a baby or a lamp. How limited must be the employment, how restricted the pleasures, of one who wears this modern costume! So far astray does one go who relies on the scientific principle of agreement between structure and function. Before passing to the sequel, and comparing the real case with our theoretical solution, we shall do well to remind ourselves that there is one human body. From the point of view of mechanics, it consists of a central trunk, mounted on two upright jointed supports, and furnished with other jointed members. The general anatomical and physiological characteristics are alike in the male and the female. They are nourished by the same food, and destroyed by the same poisons. They both require pure air and regular exercise. If man's feet are adapted for walking, so also are woman's. If the mechanism of his arms requires freedom in order that he may work, it is the same with her. In so far as their bodies are differentiated, the argument is wholly on the side of furnishing the female body with a more favorable dress than that designed for the male body, rather than with a less favorable one. These things being so, what kind of a dress should we expect, a priori, to find on woman? There can be but one answer. Since she is anatomically and physiologically like man, if she lives under the same domestic and climatic conditions that he does, whatever, broadly speaking, is most suitable and convenient for him will be found to be most suitable and convenient for her, and a high

state of civilization may reasonably be expected to exhibit conformity to this principle. The failure to meet any such standard has already been pointed out. The incongruity is not in wearing the dress she does, but in wearing it and at the same time attempting to be a sharer in modern life. Where man travels woman travels, and by the same means. She wears that costume on Piccadilly and Broadway. She gets into an electric car with her arms full of bundles; she goes up and down stairs with the lamp and the baby. She appears on horseback, on the bicycle, in the tennis court, everywhere, in that long-skirted, tight-waisted dress, attempting to do what one would pronounce in advance to be unsuitable if not impossible; and custom closes her eyes and the eyes of spectators to the incongruity involved. Nor is this all. In a still more important sense does woman propose to share in modern life. She expects to take the same course of study that a man does; to hold her own in a profession, to assume a business rôle. These things she attempts while handicapped by a dress imposed upon her during the dark ages. Professor Lester F. Ward, author of "Dynamic Sociology," sums up the whole matter when he declares that "the dress of women is the disgrace of civilization." It is a disgrace because of the lack of adaptation of woman's dress to her environment. She has not yet emerged from what we may call the ornamental drapery stage. Costly gems, rare laces, exquisite fabrics can not cover up the fact that this dress, in its fundamental ideas, is the dress of the half-civilized, and not that of one who is master of herself and of the world. What is the explanation? How are we to account for this arrested development?

One of the objects that primitive man sought to gain and to retain was woman. One of the objects of his early bargaining was woman. Marriage by capture and marriage by purchase are undisputed facts of sociology. Might and force underlay early social and political operations, but while man managed by force, experience taught woman

that she must manage by cunning. To win her own ends and secure advantages for herself she saw that she must please. To make herself personally pleasing by means of ornament was naturally her first device. It would appear that up to date, whether as slave, drudge, plaything, or companion, she holds to that primitive plan. It has not occurred to man to regard woman as his equal. The testimony from the history of the state and church and school proves this only too completely. In domestic seclusion, removed from every kind of competition with man, believing that her empire was to please, woman has had neither occasion nor encouragement to improve her dress. The explanation of the delay in the evolution of female dress is thus threefold.

First, it has been assumed, though never proved, that a simpler, more convenient costume would not be pretty and graceful; hence it could not be pleasing; hence on no account could it be adopted.

Second, simple, convenient garments would suggest equality of the sexes, and this would not be pleasing; hence they should not be adopted.

Third, all influences have tended to foster a timid, conservative spirit in woman, so that she is the obedient follower of fashion rather than the independent beginner of rational customs.

Men and women alike desire respect, admiration, and approval; but man long ago learned to scorn personal adornment as a basis of claim to favorable opinion. The decadence of this as a basis has been accompanied by a corresponding growth of appeal to the product of his brain and the work of his hands. It is his book, or discovery, or business enterprise that a man expects you to admire him for, not his coat. What is the sociological meaning of the modern movement on the part of woman for industrial recognition, for legal and political equality with man? It means largely that an additional basis of claim to approbation and honor is now proposed over and above

pleasing ornamentation. In this movement woman breaks with the traditions of the past, and declares herself not content with the status assigned her by primitive man. Around the world she is beginning to want education, and a less humiliating position in the church and the state. She is beginning to grope for her share, as half of the human race. She is beginning to want a pocket. Pockets mean power and independence, because they mean possessions. Not more closely do rings in pierced ears and necklaces point to a former condition of slavery and barbaric adornment than does the absence of pockets betray the fact that woman not only is not accustomed to possess goods and chattels, but has been herself goods and chattels.

About the time that women begin to demand pockets, wide, and deep, and abundant, we may look for another phenomenon — dissatisfaction with property laws which are an indignity to every woman who marries.

The question of immense practical importance now is, Will women recognize that the race is to the unimpeded? Let no one suppose that the woman who wastes her physical strength and nervous force, who squanders her time and dissipates her attention, is going to stand as good a chance as the one who treasures her strength and concentrates her attention. Nature is merciless to the ignorant and the willful. Premiums are for those who utilize every favorable factor and discard every unfavorable one. The women who see this principle most clearly, and who have the greatest wisdom in taking advantage of it, are the ones who in the long run are going to win.

It is beyond question that woman's mode of dressing is an obstacle to her true progress. To the waste of her strength, and time, and attention, and money, add the capital and labor now devoted to producing and fashioning the materials for the dress-display, and it can not be doubted that her present mode of dressing is a large retarding force in the civilization and progress of the whole human race. But that other force which we call public sentiment asks for

us no relief. It says rather to the wage-earning woman: Submit to the great god Fashion, else you shall not teach at our public school desks, or stand behind our counters, or even cook in our kitchens. And to the other it says: Submit, though you have to violate every law of health and good sense, else you shall be ostracized. How much submission there is need not be here recorded. Fashion finds allies in ignorance and conventionality. These powers hold such sway in social life that one can almost believe the law of evolution has been suspended in woman's disfavor. On the other hand, the doing of those things which make woman's dress conspicuously incongruous is exactly what indicates the coming of a better day. The magnitude of the incongruities is the most cheering fact in the dress chapter of sociology. What once seemed the fittest seems so no longer, and nature will see to it that the fittest survives.

The girl who enters upon life in 1900 is going to have a fairer chance than her grandmother's mother had; and who is not glad to think of that woman of the far-off future in whose coming the analogies of science permit us to believe? In larger measure than any that we have experience of, she will possess truth, and truth will make her free. She will demand a knowledge of her own body, and how it is to be preserved in health and long life; a knowledge of the earth on which she lives, and how to manage her living so that the forces of nature shall work for her; a knowledge of the social and political commonwealth, in which she is to be a unit, not a fraction, as is the case with her sister of to-day; a knowledge also of her social and political environment, viewed as a long result of time, connected with causes which have their beginnings in the animal life whence we came. On the intellectual side of her nature she will accept evidence or proof as a directive force, in place of the now dominant emotions. On the esthetic side she will realize that a home should not be a bric-a-brac shop, and that what a woman gives in attention to the adornment of

her person she loses in power to see and appreciate the splendors of the wide world around her.

This is the woman who may be expected to walk the earth before the decay of our civilization sets in, and the Anglo-Saxon starts on the down grade toward a second barbarism. This is the one to whom from the shores of the nineteenth century — none too bright for women — we send our greetings. Let us join hands to hasten her coming; and hope while we work.

DR. LELIA A. DAVIS OF CANADA INTRODUCED THE DISCUSSION OF THE PRECEDING SUBJECT, THUS:

The present dress of civilized women, upon a careful, unbiased examination, is neither healthful, convenient, nor beautiful. It is not such as the intelligent, scientific knowledge and artistic taste of to-day would invent, were it a question of invention, to supply a felt deficiency. But the woman's dress of to-day is not an invention. It is a growth — an unconscious growth — reflecting many of the blind movements, with their mistaken wanderings and false ideals, which have brought the human race to what it now is. But what is the future of woman's dress in relation to great social forces? There are two rapidly developing factors which, in the near future, must modify and later permanently revolutionize it.

These two factors are, first, a rapidly increasing interest in science, and a growing reverence for its teachings; and second, that spirit of humanitarianism which is breathing its life-giving principles into every department of human society.

In science we have the great guiding-spirit of the future of humanity; in humanitarianism, its inspiring emotion. Science recalls the laws which feed humanitarianism — the laws of the common origin of all life, of inseparable relations and of common dependence.

The increase of this spirit of humanitarianism is very visible in all the movements of the day. But it is science alone which can do away with that blind obedience to custom and prejudice which binds us fast. A mind trained scientifically demands a basis of reason for what it does and does not. It is not afraid to investigate and analyze, knowing well that, in the end, it can only reach the truth. Moreover, in the school of science which deals with the mysteries of life, the study of the underlying laws teaches that true reverence for them which can not knowingly consent to their violation.

A stricter regard for truth, and a willingness to sacrifice to it any ideals and illusions, however long cherished, will be one of the most evident results of a scientific education, which demands facts, and trains to exactness. If we in our every-day lives compelled ourselves to the utterance of perfect truth, if we did not allow ourselves to cover our want of kindness with the cloak of the polite deception of the day, the very want of that deception would reveal such a startling chasm of inhumanity that we should be obliged to fill it with the reality. The abandonment of lies would in the end evolve for us the genuine article. And so in dress, the abandonment of deceptions would in the end produce such a sense of the necessity of reality that in time we should revive the physiques of antiquity.

It is to the teachings of science that we must look for the production of a genuine respect for the human body, and for every organ forming a part of it — of a proper conception of the dignity of every physical function — of a reverence which will hesitate to violate the laws of being. Thorough study of the anatomy and physiology of the body will call attention to the common violation of these laws, and its disastrous results. At last the true value of the body, its possibilities and claims to reverent attention, will dawn upon us. Such a knowledge of our own bodies, commonly disseminated, would without doubt do more to change woman's dress than anything else.

It is largely because women do not know how they are constructed that they persist in present styles. Equipped with full knowledge, any woman would hesitate before adopting the fashionable dress of to-day, and another generation would see it virtually discarded.

But science reveals not only the laws of the individual life but also the laws of heredity, and with them the individual's responsibility to future generations, in handing down to them the impaired vitality resulting from violations of physical laws.

If to-day we find but little regard for these laws, is it not largely because, to the great mass of people, this field is not only an unknown one, but also, from a false sense of delicacy, a forbidden one?

When the teachings of science become common, when the youth of our land grow up in them, then shall light have fallen upon that spirit of humanitarianism which is still blindly, although intensely, stirring among the people, and their eyes shall be opened.

What then shall become of the woman's dress of to-day? When the strongholds of custom and prejudice are swept away; when simple, pure truth becomes lovely; when reality is more than seeming, and "the body more than raiment"; when conscience shall have awakened to the call of justice and the claims of others — can it longer remain what it is?

It is then to science and to humanitarianism that we must look for the evolution of a dress for woman, which, while healthful and beautiful, shall also be permanent in its leading characteristics, because founded on intelligent action instead of blind caprice. In so far as we foster these two already developing forces, we shall aid in the inauguration of the social reforms which must inevitably follow in their train.

LAURA ORMISTON CHANT.

PROF. HELEN L. WEBSTER (WELLESLEY COLLEGE) OF MASSACHUSETTS CONTINUED THE DISCUSSION AS FOLLOWS:

The consideration of the subject of woman's dress leads us to the question whether, in the warfare that is being waged between woman and her dress, it is the woman or her uncomfortable and ill-adapted dress that is to survive. For here too, as elsewhere in the natural world, the struggle for life is persistently going on. Here too, inevitably, the stronger will win the day. The question is whether woman shall subordinate herself to a dress that hampers, or whether she shall subordinate her dress to her needs. The issue of the contest is by no means yet apparent.

The salvation of woman seems almost hopeless, when we think of the frippery and airy nothings which we see exhibited in milliners' shop-windows, with the explanatory placard, "Ladies' spring bonnets"; when we reflect upon those artificial, often costly, appendages with which women have been doing the double duty of sweeping the streets and adorning their own persons; when we consider that educated women are no less slaves of fashion than are the ignorant; that it is, indeed, regarded as praiseworthy if a woman can learn something, and yet outrival in dress the society devotee; when we perchance listen for a few moments to the conversation in which almost any group of women will indulge after the ordinary greetings have been said; or when we hear the comments made about any woman who, for the furtherance of any cause whatsoever, appears before the public;—her dress being first discussed, and afterward, if at all, her achievements. If a man appears before the public, it is the merit of what he has done, and not the clothes in which he has done it, that awakens interest. I have searched in vain, in the accounts of this Congress, to find a description of the cut and material of Mr. Bonney's coat. All these things, which we daily see and experience, lead us to the inevitable conclusion

that the love of pleasing by the means of outward attire is inborn in woman, and that, until her education strikes far enough into her inner life to reach the springs of some worthier ambition, she is likely to remain the victim of her capricious and despotic rival — dress.

On the other hand, there are some reasons for believing that woman may yet come off victor. Women are beginning to learn that woman's dress is uncomfortable and unsuitable. Girls are so early placed in bonds that they forget about the freedom they enjoyed in the first few years of their lives; they do not know what it is to have untrammeled arms and legs; they do not know what a long, full, deep breath is; and so they go on half-breathing, half-moving, and consequently half-thinking; thorough in nothing but their ignorance of what they most of all need to know.

It is a hopeful sign that woman is taking a place also in the busy world outside of the home. For here first she learns to what extent her mode of dress is a crippling one; when she tries to do, side by side with man, the things which need strength and freedom of motion; when she attempts to do that which requires long-continued effort, be it of muscle or of brain, she finds that she is impeded. She is confronted by a dilemma; shall she give up the race, or shall the hindering clothes be exchanged for those which are more suitable? Which will she choose? Time will tell. If any women are inclined to think that, in the nineteenth century, they are winning the day, in spite of dress, that they can follow unreasonable fashion and yet win, let them beware lest they deceive themselves. It is true that colleges and universities are opening their doors to women, that opportunities are opening to them on all sides in all walks of life; but this is only the first step. It is true that women have proved that they can learn Greek and mathematics, and, indeed, everything else in the curriculum, and that they can sometimes excel; this is but the second step. There is beyond all this the vast realm of the unknown. I can not believe that women will succeed in entering this realm,

save with untrammeled feet. Whether women realize it or not, their demands to enter the lists with men have bound them to run the race; and the winning is to the unimpeded.

Another reason for feeling encouraged to hope is that some women have already reached, and many others are constantly nearing, that degree of development which enables them to demand a more comfortable, more healthful, more suitable dress; and again, that a few women have already the courage to put on and wear such a dress, and that there is in the United States one woman who is the happy possessor of ten capacious pockets! *

## Dress Reform and Its Necessity — Paper by Viscountess F. W. Harberton of England.

The Rational Dress Society in England has spared no means in its power for the last ten years in calling public attention to the errors of the lines on which women's dress is constructed, and to the great evils which naturally follow. The efforts of the society so far have not met with the success which might have been hoped; but that this should be the case is not altogether surprising when one considers that until recently it was thought almost wicked, and certainly "unwomanly," for women, and more especially for young women, to have any definite ideas upon those things in life which most immediately concerned their own welfare, comfort, or health. So we are now simply reaping the fruits of the mistaken teachings and preachings of many generations.

Not that this explanation in the least exonerates the majority of women from their conduct with regard to the question of reform in dress. More particularly one must condemn the attitude assumed by those among them who

* The reference is to Professor Ellen Hayes, author of the essay "Woman's Dress from the Standpoint of Sociology," in which she advocates pockets as the symbol of power and possession.

have leisure and culture; for however absolutely convinced they may be intellectually of the truth of the principles laid down by the society, they will not so much as move one hair's-breadth to help to remove what is truly a grievous burden from their less happily situated fellow-creatures. No, if it is wet they can go in a carriage. They do not so much mind having their dresses inside all covered with filthy dust from the streets, as the disagreeable office of cleaning them falls on their maids. They do have short dresses of some sort for the Scotch moors, and as they are rich enough to have plenty of dresses for each different occasion, they do not care to do anything to help to introduce a style of dress that would be better suited to the lives of the mass of womankind, and which would also benefit themselves immeasurably.

This state of affairs tends to make the work of the Rational Dress Society much harder and its progress much slower than it otherwise would be. At present all women's dress is arranged on "the carriage round the corner" plan. That is to say, the dress assumes that the wearer has gone out for a drive, but, for a whim, has got down to walk a few steps, and will be getting into her carriage again directly. And just as it is probable that, while the majority of women do not imagine every one who sees them takes them for duchesses, still nothing would induce them to wear a dress or mark proclaiming that they could not possibly be duchesses, so nothing could induce a woman so to dress as to make it clear she had not a carriage. Until, therefore, the frame of mind alters which leads all women — even those who work in the fields — to have their clothes made on this idiotic principle, progress in dress reform is likely to be slow.

Another great difficulty is the peculiar notion that women must dress on the lines of a Noah's Ark figure; or, as Mrs. King once wittily put it, that "a petticoat is a divinely appointed garment for women to wear." This Noah's Ark figure, however, is not only the principle on which women's

dress is constructed, but, paradoxical as it sounds, it is at the same time the precise form which every one is most anxious to avoid. Hence the waist-pinching to break the artificially constructed straight line from shoulder to ankles. Hence the huge sleeves. Hence the marvelous skirt developments in the form of trains, flounces, crinolines, and dress improvers. Hence, too, the masses of frills and trimmings of all sorts, which, by their perpetual tearing and coming to pieces, add so greatly to the worry of life.

In some way or other the old idea must be eradicated that two legs are proper for a man but improper for a woman before any change is possible. And women must give up their present abject habit of wearing anything and everything if they hear it is the fashion.

Many persons are just now in a very jubilant frame of mind because, as they say, women have successfully resisted what they call the invasion of crinoline. It appears uncertain, however, whether this is a fact or not, as there is a doubt whether crinoline was ever intended to be introduced. But be that as it may, the dress which is worn at present is not only awkward and uncomfortable to the last degree, but also peculiarly ugly, so that the rejoicing strikes some minds as uncalled for and irrational.

It is strange how little the higher education of women has helped them to improve matters which primarily concern their own well-being. The perpetual hampering of themselves with clothing so constructed as to make the natural functions of breathing and walking artificially laborious, and the latter in many cases almost impossible, is nearly on a par with self-mutilation, and is fully worthy of the contempt and disgust which the latter would excite.

Numbers of people are always ready to write violently condemnatory articles against what they call "tight lacing"; the one published in the *National Review* for March, entitled "Victims of Vanity," by Lady Violet Greville, being a good example. But these writers quite fail to realize what would be the result of the carrying out of

their advice. In the first place, they lose sight of the Noah's Ark figure aspect of the question before mentioned; and in the second they seem to imagine that the wearing of corsets only exaggerates the natural shape of the body, whereas it really aims at producing a new shape which does not exist in nature, but which looks much nicer with petticoats! The nearer to this arbitrary and unnatural form any one can mold her body, the more she is pronounced to have a lovely figure. The natural human figure has no horizontal line around the waist, such as it is artificially forced to assume with any corsets, loose or tight. The falling in over the hips does not begin under the arms like the letter V. The body first spreads out, and only falls in to the hips below the ribs. This falling in over the hips does not go round the body horizontally, but is much higher up in front than at the sides, and also it is very slight indeed. In addition to the alterations enforced by the corset, the perpetual pressure of the piece of steel down the front of the body is most injurious. There are two or three inventions of underclothing now procurable which support the bust perfectly without any of the drawbacks inseparable from our old friend "the corset." Indeed, this instrument of torture, and producer of ill-health, ought now to be relegated to a corner of museums, being as much out of date with our present knowledge of anatomy as is the armor of the Middle Ages with that of modern explosives.

It is a pity all the notions of the beauty of women's dress should be so mixed up as to include the wearing of skirts as one of the necessary adjuncts. The beauty, such as it is, proceeds from the materials and the harmony of colors, and considering the amount of thought and money expended on the subject, it would be strange if a certain measure of beauty were not produced; but the beauty would be quite as great, if not greater, in some of the forms of dresses with which the world is now familiar that are made on the dual, or two-legged, principle. This is truly the one essential point in dress reform, and the one to

which all our efforts should be directed. If it became general, all other reforms must follow as a matter of course. Slight reforms and differences made, while preserving in the main the old lines, will never become permanent, and are only practically a waste of time; but it is quite certain that a generation of women who had once become accustomed to the comfort and freedom of clothing made approximately in the shape of the human form would never consent to return to the cumbrous primitive petticoat.

### Organization as an Instrument in Promoting Moral Reform — Address by Maud Ballington Booth of England.

Ever since its inception, the Salvation Army has been known as an organization which upholds to the fullest extent the rights and privileges of women as reformers and apostles in Christ's name to the world. Through the dark days of persecution, when woman's ministry and public work of any kind were so much opposed, the battle was fought with dauntless courage; and in many of the countries in which our flag is planted it is a recognized fact that the Salvation Army has been of good service to all women workers, as an advance-guard who have fought their way through the tangles and difficulties of an untrodden path, and left behind them tracks for the following hosts. Though the very name of our organization is indicative of the fact that we are a spiritual army, and that our main object is to bring the Christ light and message of glad tidings to the hearts of those sitting in darkness, yet in this very mission we can not be other than social and moral reformers. She who brings righteous, holy inspiration and goodness to the heart and home must bring also reformation into all those social and moral relations which through sin have become so chaotic and perverted.

Here, in this our dear country, during the last six years,

the Army has forced itself into recognition by the public; and even those who care little for religion, or who dissent from our doctrines and object to our measures, have learned to hail us as a powerful social factor in the upraising of the criminal and almost hopeless classes. Among our officers we have a larger number of women than men.

That woman is especially fitted by God for this work through the gifts of tenderness, affection, and persistency, is becoming more and more a recognized fact. We make no difference in our work between the man and the woman. We do not give her a separate sphere of the work, or organize her efforts as though she were in any way disqualified for standing shoulder to shoulder with man at the battle's front. Every position that can be held by man — every office and duty that can be performed by him — we throw open to her; and we have but one gauge by which to test the qualifications for responsibility, namely — success.

I have watched the field of labor, and I have seen much energy, much good talent thrown away — much good desire expended without result — until organization has put each worker into her right place and brought to all the one aim and object. Our women are organized for war. In the hardness of the struggle, the devotion and self-sacrifice needed can be understood only by those who have looked face to face with the great social and moral questions, and have wrestled hand to hand with the vice and sin which are our enemies and the enemies of our King. Daily are coming to my ears tributes of praise and admiration to the noble way our women, in the slums or on the street, in the saloons or in their ordinary corps work, are carrying this war — this battle — to the gates, and gaining the laurels of well-earned victory. The New York *Herald*, a little while ago, remarked that it had become an established fact in New York City that two wearers of the poke bonnet could quell a street riot more effectively than a squad of police; while a policeman himself acknowledged to our slum

worker that she and her women could lead with ease a ruffian whom it would take six policemen to drag.

In connection with our slum and rescue work, we have found that it can be accomplished far more effectually by women than would ever be possible to the men of our organization. The very fact that women courageously and lovingly enter these strongholds of vice and iniquity unprotected, so far as the human eye can see — are fearless in the face of what many might consider danger — arouses in the hearts of these criminal and outcast men the little spark of chivalry and honor which lies dormant in their depraved nature. To take into such places our men warriors might indicate fear on the part of women — while courage is one of woman's most beautiful attributes, coupled as it is with less vigor and strength of muscle. It is women who must be organized into battalions to seek out the woman whose honor and purity have been trampled in the dust, for in their pure faces and loving words alone can the outcast woman read that there is hope for her; and they alone are qualified to kneel at the side of the abandoned one and plead with her whose life has been so embittered by wrong and shame. We have proved that women are not only capable of being thoroughly organized to lead, but also capable of being controlled and united to follow. Our opponents say that in organization each woman would want to be herself a leader, and that chaos would result from her inability to obey and follow. We find this absolutely incorrect; for the discipline of army organization has proved to us that woman, as a private, as an officer, or as a commander, can quite as well and methodically fill her place as any man that ever took the field.

Love to God, devotion to the cause of humanity, and the inspiration of the life and spirit of the great lover of the world can add to woman's own qualifications the divine inspiration which makes her more effective than could be any winged angel untrammeled by the cares, anxieties, and sufferings which are our heritage.

## HEREDITY IN ITS RELATION TO A DOUBLE STANDARD OF MORALS — ADDRESS BY HELEN H. GARDENER OF NEW YORK.

As a student of anthropology and heredity, one is sometimes compelled to make statements which seem to the thoughtless listener either too radical or too horrible to be true. If I were to assert, for example, that good men — men who have the welfare of the community at heart, men who are kind fathers and indulgent husbands, men who believe in themselves as pure, upright, and good citizens — if I were to say that such men as these are thorough believers in, and supporters of, the theory that it is right and wise to sacrifice the liberty, purity, health, and life of young girls and women; and, through the terrible power of heredity, to curse fatally the race, rather than to permit men and boys to suffer in their own persons the results of their own misdeeds, mistakes, or crimes, I should be accused of being morbid and a "man-hater." But let us see if the above statement is not quite within the facts. I shall take as an illustration the words and arguments of a man who stands second only to the chief police officer in the largest city in the United States; and since he was permitted to present his arguments in one of the most widely read journals of the country, without a protest from the editors, it seems fitting that they should be dealt with as of grave importance. All the more is this the case since they were intended to influence legislation in the interests of state-regulated vice. Among other things, he said, "Of course there are disorderly houses, but they are more hidden, and less of that vice is flaunted here than in any other city in the world. Such places have existed since the world began, and men of observation know that this fact is a safeguard around their homes and daughters. Men of candid judgment, religious men, know too that they had ten thousand times rather have their live, robust boys err in this indul-

gence than think of them in the place of those unfortunates on the island whose hands are muffled or tied behind them. This is a desperately practical question, with more than a theoretical and sentimental side. It ought to be talked about and better understood among fathers. Thank God that vice is so hidden that Doctor Parkhurst had to get detectives to find disorderly houses, and that thousands of wives and daughters do not know even of their existence. Such horrible disclosures as were made before innocent women and girls in Doctor Parkhurst's audience do vastly more harm, in arousing their curiosity and polluting their minds, than a host of sin that is compelled to hide its head. When I was captain of the Twenty-ninth Precinct, I went with Doctor Talmage on his errand for sensational information for his sermons. I know from observation, and from reports which I was careful to gather, that never in their history were the places he described so thronged by patrons, largely from Brooklyn, or so much money spent there for debauchery, as after those sermons."

Now I assume that this police inspector is a good citizen, father, husband, and man. I assume that he is sincere and earnest in his desire and efforts to suppress crime, and promote, so far as he is able, the welfare of the community. I assume, in short, that he is in intent and fact a loyal citizen and a conscientious officer. I have no reason to believe that he is not saying what he conceives is best and right; and yet even he is quoted as openly advocating the sacrifice of purity to impurity, the creating of moral and social lepers in one sex in order that moral and social lepers, or the ignorantly vicious, of the other sex may escape the results of their own mistakes or vices. It impresses me anew that such teaching from such authority, supported positively or negatively by public opinion, not only is the most unfortunate that can be put before a boy, but that it goes further, perhaps, than anything else can to confirm in men that condition of sex mania which the inspector says should be cultivated by means of regularly recognized state

institutions for the utter sacrifice and death of young girls, rather than that it should end in the wreck of the sex maniac himself. But were our statesmen students of the laws of heredity, they would not need to be told that there are, there can be, no "safeguards around our wives and daughters" so long as their husbands, fathers, and sons are polluting the streams of life before they transmit that life to those who are to be our daughters and wives.

But not to go so deeply into the subject for the moment as to deal with its bearings upon heredity, upon what principle his arguments can be valid I fail to see. Why is it better that some girl should be sacrificed, body, mind, and soul? Why is it better that she should be the man's victim than that he should be his own? And then, again, the problem is not solved when she is sacrificed. He has simply changed the form of his disease, and in the change, while it is possible he has delayed for himself the day of destruction, he has in the process corrupted not only his victim but the social conscience as well. Were this all, perhaps it would be still thought wise to follow the advice of the inspector, and, alas, of many physicians, and continue to sacrifice, under the brutal wheel of sex power, those who are from first to last a prey to the conditions of a social and legal environment in which they are allowed no voice.

But this is not all. The seeming cure is no cure at all. It is simply a postponement of the awful day for the sex-pervert himself; and worse than this, more terrible than this, it is the cause of the continuance of the mania, not only in himself but in his children. He marries some honest girl by and by, and thus associates with the burnt-out dregs of his life one who would loathe him if she knew his true character, and his concealed but burning flame of insanely inherited, insanely indulged, bestially developed tendency. But he is now, under the shadow of social respectability and church sanction, to perpetuate his unfortunate mania in those who are helpless, the unborn. Heredity is not a slipshod thing. It does not follow one parent

and one alone. The children of a father who "sowed his wild oats" by the method prescribed by the inspector (and, alas, by social custom) are as truly his victims as is the wreck of humanity who is to be quarantined in some given locality, and made a social leper and a physical wreck that he personally may be neither the one nor the other. But nature is a terrible antagonist. She bides her time, and when she strikes she does not forget to strike a harder, wider-reaching, more terrible blow than can be compassed by a single individual or a single generation. This is the lesson that we have absolutely thus far refused to learn. I do not hesitate to take direct issue with the inspector and social custom, therefore, and say that it is far better for society, far better for the fathers of unfortunate victims of sex mania, far better for the victim himself, that he be "on the island, with hands muffled or tied behind him," where death to one individual will end the shame and misery for all, than that, by applying the remedy of state regulation, the result should be as it is, as it always has been, as it always must be, namely — other generations of sex maniacs, scrofulous, epileptic, or simply constitutionally undermined weaklings. The boys who are encouraged to "sow their wild oats," and taught that it is safe to do so under state regulation, should hear the reports of some of the students of hereditary traits, conditions, and developments. There is to-day in an asylum, not so far from this inspector's own door but that its records are easy of access, one victim of this pernicious theory whose history runs thus: He was a gentleman of good social, financial, and mental status and surroundings. He was a "young man about town." He possessed, perhaps it was an hereditary trait, more consciousness of the fact that he was a male animal than of the fact that he was, or should be, an intelligent, self-respecting human being, who had no moral right to degrade another human being for his own gratification, while he assumed to still retain a higher and safer plane than his companions in vice. He was, in brief, no better and no worse than many

young fellows who — alas! that they are so taught by men who believe themselves good and honorable — "turn out to be good family men."

After his system was thoroughly inoculated, physically, mentally, and morally or ethically, with the tone, the condition, the trend of the life which the inspector and many other good men insist is unfit for the ears of women, but necessary to the welfare of men, and "best" for them, he married a lovely woman from a good family. All went well. Society smiled (this is history, not fiction), and said that rapid men when they did marry made the best husbands in the world. It is said such men know better how to appreciate fully purity at home. Society did not state that there could be no purity in a stream where half of the tributaries are polluted. But society was satisfied to talk of "pure homes" so long as there was one pure partner to the compact which resulted in the home. It does not talk of an honest firm if but one of its members is privately and in his own person honest, while he accedes to the dishonest practices of his associates. But society was satisfied. A child was born; society was charmed. Four more children came; society said that this late profligate was doing his duty as a good citizen of the state. He is now about forty-seven years old. He is a "paretic" in an asylum, and, if that were all, then the inspector's theory might still stand, because he might say that at least the awful calamity had been staved off all these years, while he had built a "pure home," and left to his country others to take his place. The facts are these: His oldest son is an epileptic; the second is a physical caricature of a man; the third is a moral idiot; he has no moral sense at all, although he is mentally very bright. He delights in victimizing dogs, cats, or even smaller children; all things, in fact, which are in his power, are his legitimate prey. Then there is a girl. In the phraseology of the doctor, "She shows only the general, constitutional signs of her inheritance." The youngest son is now less than seven years old; he is such a hope-

less sex maniac, even now, that the parents of other children do not dare allow them to be alone with him for one moment. In telling of this case, the asylum physician, himself a profound student of heredity, said of this last child: "He would shame an old Parisian debauchee." The Spartans were not so far wrong, after all. They killed all such children before they had a chance to grow up and still further pollute the stream of life.

And so our good citizen followed the usual course prescribed by the inspector — and by society. Leaving out the horrible necessary sacrifice of a woman, or of some numbers of women, the result of the plan is this: A house of vice, in a secluded quarter "for greater safety"; a few years of license which he believed to be his legitimate perquisite in the world, and "no harm done"; the association of the later years of his wasted energies, and his vice-soaked life and flesh, with the life of a pure girl; the legacy to society of five more sex maniacs, born in wedlock, which by its present terms, laws, and theories still further develops sex mania in men, and thereby implants the disease in each new generation, to be fought with or yielded to again; a driveling wreck of a man in an asylum at the prime of his manhood; and a worse than widowed wife, with a knowledge in her soul which is an undying serpent, as she looks in despair upon the five lives she has given, in her pathetic ignorance and trust. And this is not an unusual record. Of course its details are seldom known outside the physician and the family. This case is not known. It is the legitimate fruit of a tree which society, and avarice, ignorance, and vice carefully foster. It is the tree the fruit of which fills our mad-houses, asylums, poor-houses, and prisons year after year; and yet we tend it carefully, and keep its roots strong and vigorous by the very methods recommended by the police inspector, and by all believers in state-regulated and state-licensed vice: that is, licensed vice must be systematically continued "for the good of robust boys, who might else be on the island with muffled hands; it

must be kept in certain quarters, and secret, for greater safety to men, and that our wives and daughters may not hear of it." Not hear of it until when? Not until the years come when the honest physician must tell the wife — and at least there are physicians honest enough for this — if not the cause, at least the horrible facts, when it is too late for her to prevent the awful crime of giving life to the children of such a husband. We hold it a terrible crime to take life. Is it not more terrible in such a case to give life? Think of it! In the one instance, the results to the victims are simply the sudden ending of a more or less desirable existence in a more or less desirable world; in the other case, it is assuming to thrust, unasked, upon the helpless children a living death, an inheritance of pollution, which must, and does, develop itself in one or another form as the years go by.

When society is wiser it may be a bit more like the Spartans. It will say, "Far better that they be on the island than that they should lay their fatal curse upon the world, to expand and blight to the third and fourth generations" — and I believe it was the "sin of the fathers" which was thus to follow the children, was it not? What was that sin? Are not its roots to be found in the very soil advocated as good by the believers in state regulation of vice, and in a double standard of morals, and in the ignorance which they say is desirable for "our wives and daughters"? Ignorance that such things exist, the secret, legalized, regulated slaughter — social, moral, and physical — of hundreds and thousands of one sex at the demands and for the gratification of the other. Are there not sex maniacs in more directions than one? Is not this very double standard theory a sex mania in itself? Are not the men who advocate laws, and the legislators who make laws, which recognize these double moral standards, who ignore the plainest finger-board set up by nature in hereditary conditions — are not these in a sense one and all sex maniacs? When they talk of keeping our wives and daughters "pure and ignorant,"

they do not seem to realize that the taint of blood that flows in the veins of that very daughter, which she herself does not understand, and which an ignorant mother does not dream of, and therefore can not stand guard over, flows as an ever-present threat that she shall be one of those outcasts whom her own father is laboring to quarantine in darkness and oblivion.

Nature has no favorites. Heredity does not spare your daughter; and yet men who plant the seeds of sex perversion in their own families have the infinite impudence to cast from their doors the blossoms of their own tillage. They go into heroics about being "disgraced." "You are no longer a child of mine," is a sentiment which rings in a thousand pages of literature; in one hundred cases out of one hundred and one it should be met by the reply, "This act of mine proves, as no other could, that I am indeed your daughter! Blood of your blood, and flesh of your flesh! Nature has told her secret through me. Let us cry quits. You put the cursed taint into my blood, and I could not protect myself. I am the one to complain, not you. Do not cry out for quarter like a very coward. Face your record made in flesh and blood. This polluted life of mine is nature's reply to your life of license and uncleanness. I am nature's reply to your uncontrolled desires, inside of marriage and out; I, the moral or mental idiot; I, the diseased, polluted wreck; I, the epileptic; I, the lunatic; I, the drunkard; I, the wrecker of the lives of others—I am your lineal descendant! You sacrificed others recklessly, by act and by law, to your desires and your arbitrary sex power; you cultivated a taint in your blood. It is true that you took the precaution to transmit it through purity and ignorance to me. That very purity and ignorance of my mother served to save your peace of mind, and enabled you to take advantage of her for infinite opportunity for mischief. It, alas! could not save me, for I am your child also. Her ignorance was your partner in a crime against me, her helpless infant and yours. Do not complain. Dis-

like my face as you will; presented to you in whatsoever form or phase of distortion it may be, I am your direct lineal descendant! Build better, or go down with the structure you planned for other men's daughters, and in which, alas, you locked me before I was born!"

If, because of their sex, men demand privileges, rights, emoluments, honors, opportunities, and freedom which they claim as good for and necessary to their welfare, while they insist that all these are not to be allowed to women — that they would be her damnation — are not these men also sex maniacs? Has not humanity been long enough cursed by so degrading and degraded, so ignorant and so fatally wrong a mental, moral, social and legal outlook? I am attacking no individual, I am using an individual utterance on this subject simply to present better the side of the case which is sustained by all our present laws, conditions, and male sentiment. I wish to present the reverse side of this awful picture. From man's point of view it is often presented and in many ways, but once or twice have I seen the other side in print, where it was looked at from a rational or scientific point of view.

Last year a book was written which touched, to a moderate degree, woman's side as well as the general human side of this problem. It was put in the form of a novel, that it might appeal to a larger reading public than would an essay or magazine article. It had a tremendous sale, and the only, or at least the chief, adverse criticism upon it was that it pictured a type of father which either did not exist or was too rare to be taken even as an illustration in fiction. Now it is this very type of father of which the inspector speaks thus: "Men of candid judgment, religious men, know too that they had rather have their live, robust boys err in this indulgence, than think of them in the places of those unfortunates on the island," etc. That is exactly the point made by the book referred to, which was criticised by one editor as "morbid in its imaginings about fathers." Is the inspector "morbid"? He said, "This is a desperately practical

question, with more than a theoretical or sentimental side. It ought to be talked about and better understood among fathers." And I agree with him perfectly so far. It is, indeed, a desperately practical question for both men and women, and anthropology and heredity teach, in all peoples and in each succeeding generation, that the question has not been solved by the adoption of the double standard of morals. It is so desperately practical that the land is literally covered with the deplorable results, in hospitals, in prisons, in imbecile asylums, and in mad-houses. But when he goes on to "thank God that this vice is hidden, and that thousands of wives and daughters do not know of its existence," it impresses me that the inspector, in condoning the sins of fathers and commending ignorance in mothers, is attempting to still further hedge boys about with a condition which inevitably makes of them sex maniacs in more directions than one.

Is not his mother as deeply interested in her boy's welfare as is his father? Is it not to her eyes and wisdom that his younger days are mostly left, and to her watchfulness, intelligence, and information that he must be trusted, that he may not develop or acquire fatal habits? Or if he has them in his blood as a heritage from his father, by whom vice was looked upon as "safe" if only kept from the ears and eyes of wife and daughter, is it not imperative that the trained eye and mind of a mother who is not ignorant of, nor blind to, the very earliest indications that there is a blood taint should be directed to him, so that, so far as possible, she may labor to modify and control his awful inheritance before it has him in a fatal grip? Instead of this it is advocated as desirable that she be even "ignorant of" the existence of such vice! It is due more to the fact that she has been ignorant than to any other one thing that, later on, the boy's developed hereditary curse or his acquired bad habits have so fixed themselves upon his young mind and body that the inspector and the boy's father find themselves in a position to choose between a straight-jacket for the boy

himself, or first, a wrecked and outraged womanhood, and second, descendants of his that are marked with a brand worse than Cain's.

The inspector says that such disclosures as Doctor Talmage's sermons before innocent women and girls do vastly more harm than a host of sin that is compelled to hide its head. Now, what is the implication? Did he mean to imply that those places have since the sermon been thronged with the wives and daughters of Brooklyn? If not, how does he know that it polluted their minds? Has he not jumped at that conclusion, and cast a slur upon the wrong sex — the sex that did not squander its money in patronizing these resorts? Was not that a rather desperate effort to sustain an argument by a non sequitur?

Are women's minds polluted by a knowledge of vice which they avoid intelligently rather than escape from ignorantly? Are ignorance and innocence the same thing? Does the inspector believe that a knowledge of the degradation into which their sons are led and pushed by just such theories as these, backed by a blind hereditary impulse which has no intelligent care from a wise parentage — does he believe that such knowledge would drive or lure "our wives and daughters" into this polluting vice? And is it not strange to hear of a condition of things which can be spoken of as good and desirable for boys and men which is in the same breath depicted as pollution even to the ears of women? Can good women live with these men and not be polluted? How about the children?

Man has for ages past claimed to be the logical animal. Beasts have no logic at all, and in this regard woman has been gallantly classed, if not exactly with the beasts, certainly not with men. We may say that she has been counted by man as a sort of missing link. She has logic, plenty of it, if she agrees with all he says; otherwise, she is an emotional, irrational, unclassified creature. Now, when it comes to dealing with his fellows, man has, in the main, a fair amount of reason and logic; but the mo-

ment he is called upon to think of woman as a simple human being like himself, to deal with and for her as such, to give her a chance to do the same with and by and for herself, that moment man becomes an emotional, irrational sex maniac. He is absolutely unable to look upon woman as, first of all, a free individual, a human being on exactly the same plane as himself. She is instantly to his mind "wife," "daughter," or "victim" always. Never for one little instant is he able to contemplate her as a human unit and entity, entitled to life and liberty for and because of herself. Always it is her relation with him that he sees and deals with; and, alas for his theories of justice, gallantry, or right, it is always as his subordinate, for his use, abuse, or pleasure, that he thinks of and plans for her.

Why confine guilty houses to one quarter? To keep their vicious inmates away from our "wives and daughters," and the streets which they are on, says the inspector. But this is making sex irregularity a reason for restricting liberty of residence and resort, even of promenade and pleasure. That is to say, it restricts the liberty of one party to the vice.

Unfortunately, it is the wrong partner in vice from whom state regulations seek to "protect our wives and daughters." It is the one who can do the intelligent wife and daughter no harm whatever who is restricted. Man, we are told, is the logical animal. Why not apply a bit of his logic here? Why not set a watch on and restrict the one who does the real and permanent harm to the race?

Men claim that it is necessary to their health, happiness, and comfort to sacrifice utterly the characters, health, lives, and even liberty of locomotion of tens of thousands of women every year. This is simply infamous, and nature teaches its infamy and unnaturalness. From the protozoan to the highest bird or beast there is no distinction of right, of opportunity, or of privilege as to occupation, life, liberty, or the pursuit of happiness anywhere in nature between the sexes, until we reach the one species of animal where

one sex has been subordinated to the other because of industrial conditions — by financial dependence.

It is largely to the ignorance of wives and daughters on all these points that is due the possibility for passing, in some States, bills to reduce "the age of consent," at which a girl is held legally responsible for her own ruin, to ten years. If there were one good woman in the legislature no such bill would have a ghost of a chance to pass, or be kept from the public knowledge and rushed through a "secret session." Yet fathers of daughters pass such bills. It is then true, after all, that men are not so good protectors of woman as woman is of her sister! Ten years of age! A girl is a baby then! Think of your own little girl at ten! Do not dare to stop thinking, and writing, and talking on the subject until such infamous laws are an impossibility! Do not allow any one to make you believe that it is not "modest" or "becoming" for a woman to know about, and fight to the bitter death, any and all such laws.

You have no right not to know about this matter! You have no right to dare to bring into this world a child who shall be subject to such a law. It is beyond belief, but it is true. And then men talk of "protecting" women. Men who hold that a girl is not old enough to give lawful consent to lawful marriage until she is eighteen years old, say that she is at the age of ten to be held as old enough to give consent to her own eternal disgrace, ruin, and degradation.

The ignorance of one sex in almost all of the vital affairs of life, coupled with its financial dependence upon the other sex, has gone far to make of all men, in one form or another, sex maniacs; and to make of many children the victims of a polluted ancestry, and the progenitors of an enfeebled race.

THE MORAL REFORM UNION — ADDRESS BY HELEN TAYLOR OF ENGLAND, READ BY MARIE FISCHER-LETTE OF GERMANY.

The education of public opinion by the combined action of men and women, seeking no political or personal aggrandizement, not necessarily agreeing with one another either in politics or religious faith, but agreeing on the necessity of certain fundamental principles, such as Truth, Justice, Chastity, as essential to public and private morality, has been and is the characteristic work of the Moral Reform Union, founded in London in the year 1881. By all the means in its power it encourages the study and discussion of moral questions, and disseminates as widely as possible leaflets and literature on such subjects. Those who are well acquainted with the practical condition and private morals in our own time will not need to be told that uncompromising hostility to the patronage of vice under cover of official regulation of prostitution (known among English-speaking peoples as the "Contagious Diseases Acts") is an essential principle of the Moral Reform Union.

Some of the most useful work of the Union has been the steady and persistent drawing forth of expressions of opinion adverse to these acts from the religious bodies of the United Kingdom, its colonies and dependencies. And this work is becoming more than ever necessary at the present time, when the advocates of these acts are endeavoring to carry out by indirect means what the public opinion of England forbids them to do openly and avowedly. In combating and laying bare the revolting injustice, the loathsome indecency, and the cynical insolence of these acts, we are necessarily brought to insist upon the great truth of the equal moral standard for men and women, and the promulgation of this equal standard is an essential part of the educational programme of the Moral Reform Union.

At the same time that the Moral Reform Union finds

itself compelled, by the special circumstances of our own time, to join in active, aggressive warfare against this worst form of sexual vice and injustice, it also holds itself bound to give all the assistance in its power to other work in which the moral progress of humanity is involved; such, for example, as the movement directed against cruelty and intemperance; against gambling, and against such gigantic forms of national greed as we English people have to be ashamed of in our governmental patronage of opium in India and China.

But while it is our special work, because it is our special duty, to struggle, and particularly to educate the moral sense of our own compatriots, we recognize emphatically the solidarity of the whole human race, and the common duties of all nations. We therefore take all opportunities to be in correspondence with, to assist and to seek the assistance of, those who are striving to raise the moral standard, in any part of the world.

Believing that this Congress of Women in Chicago in 1893 can not fail to impress upon women that it is their duty to take a leading part in the moral elevation of the world, we send you our cordial greetings; and for this purpose we have selected a German lady as our representative, in token of the union of nations we desire to see engaged in this sacred work.

## TEMPERANCE EDUCATION — ADDRESS BY MARY H. HUNT OF MASSACHUSETTS.

A young Hindu gentleman, with that fine command of our language that characterizes the educated classes of India, said to me the other day: "The better classes in India regard everything English as degrading." To my exclamation of surprise he replied: "The teachings of English-speaking peoples are good, but their examples are bad in India. I am a Hindu; the Hindu religion teaches

its followers to drink no alcoholic liquors. The English drink much, are drunken, and our lower classes in India do not discriminate between the teachings and the examples of English-speaking people, but follow the latter. These examples have brought great degradation and harm to many of our people."

I blush for the civilization which produces such results. The story in our own land is no better. It is a matter of common knowledge that alcohol is the greatest criminal force in the world. It has the power to brutalize, barbarize, and besot its consumers. Its use can transform the most accomplished specimens of civilization to worse than savages.

And yet, in the face of these facts, in this afternoon of the nineteenth century, the sale of these liquors is protected by the laws of our free, self-governing people. The tax upon their manufacture is one of the largest, if not the largest, source of our national revenue. As used by unscrupulous men, alcohol is debauching our politics. It is a well-known fact that the purchasable material in all politics is the saloon element.

The answer to the question, " Will the future witness our still greater progress in the ideas of advancement that constitute a nation's strength?" depends upon what the coming American people do with the alcohol question. But why do we refer this problem to you? Why wait? Why not arise and sweep the iniquity from the face of the earth? Who would do the sweeping? Majorities of men make laws in this country, and that majority to-day is not ready for such sweeping. If majorities are wrong, a government like ours is helpless, for a republic has no power with which it can compel majorities. It is one of the weaknesses of a republican form of government that the vices as well as the virtues of the people appear in their legislation. This government of ours is just as strong on any question as the people are, and it is just as weak as they are.

Just as soon as a controlling majority of the people of

the United States do not believe in or want alcoholic beverages, the law protecting traffic in such liquors will be swept from the face of the earth, or rather from our part of it. How soon will that time come? During the last twelve years the question of constitutional prohibition has been submitted to the direct vote of the people of seventeen States. All except Kansas, Iowa, Maine, and the two Dakotas voted, "No; we will not prohibit the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages."

At the Fair the other day I heard a well-dressed woman urge a young man, her son, to take beer, "because it is such a good tonic; it will rest you." Ninety-nine people out of a hundred of those drinking beer there and elsewhere began in that way.

Alcohol is the basis of beer, wine, and the whole foul brood of fermented and distilled liquors. Alcohol deadens the nerves, and thus makes the drinker feel better for a time; while it has the power, taken continuously, even in small quantities, to create an uncontrollable and destructive appetite for more. The people, thinking a little harmless, are taking it, and do not want it abolished; thus they become its victims.

The first step is education of the whole people as to the evil nature of alcoholic beverages, and especially of the danger of beginning their use; and this education must come before appetite is formed, or it is too late.

Popular misapprehension is at the root of this evil. We have spent time, money, and energy in denunciation that should have been devoted to education. But a better day is dawning. In October, 1882, trembling at my own temerity, I pleaded with the Vermont Legislature for a law that should require all pupils in all schools to study the subject of physiology and hygiene, including special reference to the nature and effects of alcoholic drinks and narcotics. The first temperance education law was there passed. Michigan and New Hampshire followed the same year; New York in 1884; Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and eight

other States in 1885; the National Congress, for all schools under Federal control, in 1886; and thus on, until to-day forty-two States and Territories have enacted temperance education laws. There are only five more States to win before this education will be required for all pupils in all the public schools of this land.

When the first law was enacted, twelve years ago, there was not such a text-book in the world as the law demanded. To-day there is a large variety of good school literature on the subject, beautifully graded to the capacities of all classes of pupils, issued by many different publishers. There were no school methods for teaching this branch; that is now remedied, and every year is showing better and more intelligent work done in this study in the schools.

There are twelve million children in the United States under temperance education laws. These are the masses of to-morrow, and, more than that, the leaders, the presidents of the United States, the congressmen, legislators, lawyers, jurors, ministers, teachers, generals, and admirals of the future; these, with the leaders of fashion, of society's gay throng, and of the church of God of to-morrow — these are all in the schools of to-day.

When these shall come to their majority, having all alike been taught in the schools, during the most impressive period of existence, God's law of abstinence from alcoholic drinks and narcotics, then the saloon will perish.

## The Power of Womanliness in Dealing with Stern Problems — Address by Florence Collins Porter of Maine.

During the coming weeks many of the brilliant intellectual women of our own and other lands will discuss in the World's Congress of Representative Women the relation of women to the world's work through organized effort, in

respect to religion, philanthropy, education, moral reform and civil law and government.

These discussions will, doubtless, show the great advancement of women throughout the world since the discovery of America by Columbus.

In considering this intellectual evolution, may we not also notice that there has been a great change in the physical characteristics of women?

Family portraits of the average woman of fifty or one hundred years ago reveal a style of feature and form as different from the average woman of to-day as is the tone of the old-fashioned daguerreotype from that of the modern photograph.

In the daguerreotype we see what at that time represented the accepted types of feminine modesty. The shoulders are sloping, the countenance passive, and the hands, demurely folded, are expressive of the deepest humility.

A composite photograph representing a type of the American woman of the present age would show, without regard to prevailing fashions, the shoulders thrown back, the head erect, and the whole poise, in fact, one of independence and self-reliance.

May we not believe that this external change has been wrought because of the broader thought and the greater confidence in her own powers that has come to her through experiencing success in wider fields than her grandmother trod? "As a woman thinketh, so she is."

The temperance work has been an important factor in bringing woman into public life, and revealing to her a glimpse of the kingdom she is to go up and possess. Through organized temperance work, with its unions reaching nearly every town and hamlet in the land, the woman of even average ability, the woman who twenty years ago would declare such actions impossible, has learned how to preside over a public meeting, to treat an amendment, to frame a motion, and in other ways to express in a clear

and parliamentary manner her desires, opinions, or convictions.

The public has listened and applauded, for the art of expression is a magical, beautiful gift; and no longer is it said in woman's praise, "There is nothing wherewith their womanliness is more properly garnished than with silence."

In considering, therefore, "The Power of Womanliness in Dealing with Stern Problems," we are to treat those relations that exist in the public work to which woman seems to be fittingly called.

The temperance work, bringing together as it does in council so many different minds, has proved a most difficult subject to deal with, for upon no other great moral question is there such a diversity of opinions concerning methods and principles. To keep in step with the age there must be progressive thought to meet new conditions, and aggressive action to cope with present ones.

Progressiveness and aggressiveness usually foster a combative spirit, and in seeking for the best methods of dealing with the liquor traffic, and other questions of social and political reforms, there is danger of developing qualities that may detract from true Christian character and womanly worth.

In doing public work what should be woman's highest standard of duty toward her co-workers? What deteriorating influences to a beautiful womanly character may possibly arise, and what types should be avoided as likely to do harm to the cause and bring its advocates into disrepute? The first type to be avoided is the masculine woman.

While woman to-day stands the acknowledged peer of man, and strives to do her work as well, let her not do it after the fashion of man, but let her seek rather to exalt the highest and noblest traits of womanly character.

Another type of character to be avoided is that of the scheming, ambitious woman, who employs political machinery and wire-pulling to bring about desired results. Happily, this class, as yet, is but a small minority, for a

large majority of those who are wrestling with the stern problems that hold in their solution the betterment of humanity are allied with some organization, because it exists to accomplish a great purpose. With utter self-abnegation they seek to be messengers of redemption to those who are in the bonds of sin and misery, and to remove the power of temptation from the pathway of their erring fellow-creatures. To the work they give unselfish toil and ceaseless thought, sacrificing personal ease and pleasure to advance the kingdom of truth and righteousness.

These are the women who should stand at the front and stamp their womanly worth and integrity upon every organization composed entirely of women. The last twenty-five years have brought many changes, perhaps the next twenty-five will bring greater ones. If there are to be, then as now, the best types of womanhood in the ascendancy, women must be large-souled and honest in dealing with each other. Evidences of chicanery, of insincerity even, will quickly disgust and prejudice the honest heart and cause it to seek refuge in narrower circles. The ethics of womanliness does not require a personal following.

It is Emerson who says, "Better be a nettle in the side of your friend than his echo." The great national gatherings that bring together women from the North, South, East, and West develop a broad judicial faculty, and friendship does not mean that any woman is to allow her more brilliant friend to do her thinking for her. Even when differing widely, women have learned to love and respect their co-workers. They should also learn to stand truer and more steadfastly together; for woman's organizations, as distinctively such, must be based upon faith and love, and trust in womankind. Without this faith and trust the foundations totter.

## Origin and Early History of the British Women's Temperance Association — Address by Lady Henry Somerset of England.

"What was the origin of the British Women's Temperance Association?" is a question often asked, and one to which I have thought it well to reply.

In June, 1875, "Mother" Stewart, a well-known leader in the Woman's Whisky War of 1873–74 (a crusade against the American saloon that attracted universal attention, and resulted in the closing of thousands of dram-shops and the reformation of tens of thousands of men), met Mrs. Parker of Dundee at a great temperance convention in the city of Chicago. Mrs. Parker was very much interested in the crusade movement in America, having read of its results while in her own home in Scotland, and when she met "Mother" Stewart, was eager to invite her to Scotland. Upon Mrs. Parker's return home a correspondence was begun, which resulted in the visit of "Mother" Stewart to Great Britain in January, 1876. On January 21st a reception was given her in the rooms of the National Temperance League, London, where two hundred and fifty ladies and gentlemen assembled.

At this meeting Mrs. Margaret Bright Lucas, Mr. Robert Rae, and Dr. Dawson Burns spoke with enthusiasm of the women's temperance work in the United States, and a resolution was adopted inviting "Mother" Stewart to hold temperance meetings throughout England, and a committee was appointed to arrange the work. On April 10, 1876, a call for the formation of a national society, which ran as follows, was sent out by Mrs. Parker and "Mother" Stewart:

FIRST BRITISH WOMEN'S TEMPERANCE CONFERENCE.

The Cliff, Dundee.

Madam: At the earnest request of the Women's National Christian Temperance Union of America, conveyed to us by Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer, its esteemed president, Miss Frances E. Willard, corresponding

secretary, and others, we hereby convene a meeting of women connected with the various temperance organizations in the United Kingdom, to be held on Friday, the 21st inst., in the Central Hall, Newcastle-on-Tyne, at 10 o'clock, to consider a cordial invitation to the women of England, Scotland, and Ireland to be present personally, or by delegation, at the first international women's temperance convention the world has ever known, which is fixed to take place at Philadelphia, United States, on June 10th.

We trust that the women of Great Britain and Ireland will as cordially coöperate as they do heartily sympathize with the glorious work done by their noble American sisters, and that the forthcoming convention will be memorable for numbers, influence, and results. A number of ladies have already intimated their cordial approval of the proposal to hold this meeting at Newcastle, some of them have signified their willingness to act as delegates if appointed, and the prospects of a successful meeting are assured.

The wrongs that women suffer through the effects of strong drink on their hearts and homes are so many and grievous that every Christian woman in the land should rise in the might and influence God has given her, and in His strength do all in her power to sweep the scourge from the land.

On behalf of the women of the United States,

MRS. E. D. (Mother) STEWART.

On behalf of the women of the United Kingdom,

MRS. MARGARET D. PARKER.

In response to this appeal, the first British women's conference was held at Newcastle-on-Tyne, April 21, 1876, and I give the account in official language taken from the first published report:

"Mrs. Parker, in opening the proceedings, said:

"'In accordance with the earnestly expressed wish of the Women's Christian Temperance Union of America, and the firm conviction in our own minds that God has already prepared the hearts of Christian women throughout the land to do a great work for him in the cause of temperance, this convention has been called. . . . The glorious temperance work accomplished by the Christian women of America has been told to the world, and its beneficent results have spread from the shores of the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and extended throughout the civilized world. . . .

"'In response to the kind invitation sent by our American sisters to attend the International Temperance Convention

to be held in Philadelphia in June, and with a view of further strengthening their hands and our own, we purpose (with the sanction of this convention) to appoint delegates to represent the temperance women of Great Britain and Ireland in the first international women's temperance convention the world has ever known.'"

Reference was made to the valuable labors of Mrs. E. D. (Mother) Stewart in the cause of temperance in Great Britain, and the meeting requested the president to convey to her a testimonial of their high appreciation of her efforts, and their desire that an interchange of ideas and coöperative measures may be maintained with this association after her return to America.

Included in the resolution passed by the conference to welcome the delegation from the Grand Lodge of England, it was stated, "We have also elected ten delegates to go to America to represent us at the International Temperance Convention at Philadelphia."

Mrs. Parker, as president, in opening the proceedings, stated that "the work of the American ladies in bringing on a Christian and a temperance reformation had found its echoes on the shores of Britain, and she believed had spread throughout the civilized world."

At this conference it was resolved that the name adopted should be the British Women's Temperance Association, and that they at once elect office-bearers and an executive committee. The first president was Mrs. Parker of Dundee, and the twenty-two members of the committee were from all parts of the country, only one, Mrs. Margaret Bright Lucas, being resident in London. At this gathering seven ladies were elected delegates to the International Women's Temperance Convention to be held in Philadelphia.

The first conference of the British Women's Temperance Association was brought to a successful conclusion by a large meeting, where several women made their début in public life whose names have been known and honored from that day forward.

On the 22d of May, 1877, the first annual meeting was held in Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street. The president, Mrs. Parker, took the chair, and in her opening remarks said:

"The result of the American crusade is world-wide; it is one of the most sublime moral movements on which the sun ever shone. History will record it in deathless characters. The magnitude of these results can not be known until the light of eternity dawns. The gentle footsteps of these women are echoing yet, and we on British shores owe our inspiration in a great measure to them.

"Having, as your president, had the honor of being sent as a delegate to America to the first international women's temperance convention the world has ever known, it is due to you and to them to say that I was everywhere welcomed with enthusiasm and affection, and endowed with all the honors it was in the power of those noble workers to bestow. They also deputed me to bear to you their heartiest greetings; and thus, my sisters, hands join hands across the broad Atlantic, and pledge each other to labor and pray for the early dawning of that day when the cruel traffic in alcohol shall be no more. My visit to America has impressed me with a sense of the magnitude and advanced character of the work undertaken by our sisters there; and here let me say that the church everywhere helps the women who labor thus for the good of humanity. A great work lies before us. I trust that from this convention shall go out a power which shall move the people in every part of the British dominions, and that many practical means of usefulness will be suggested."

At the annual meeting Mrs. Clara Lucas Balfour was elected president, and was succeeded by Mrs. Margaret Bright Lucas, the honored sister of John Bright, who occupied that position until her death, in 1890. During her presidency (in 1885) the British Women's Temperance Association was affiliated to the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, which was founded in 1883, and of which

Mrs. Lucas became the first president, it being the year of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, in connection with which the Colonial Congress was held. Mrs. Lucas and other ladies were delegated to attend it on behalf of the association, so that advantage might be taken of the unique occasion which had brought so many of our colonial friends to England, to press the temperance question upon them. The following address was issued:

FELLOW-SUBJECTS OF OUR BELOVED QUEEN: We welcome you with joy to our shores, and we desire still more closely to knit the bond which binds us together, by a union of work for the good of our fellow-creatures. Will our sisters join in our efforts to stem the ravages of strong drink wherever its devastating power appears? We, British women, enrolled under the banner of "Temperance," offer to you the right hand of fellowship. We have joined with the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of America in the World's Woman's Temperance Union, and we earnestly invite you to work with us, heart and soul, in the endeavor, with God's help, to put away this curse, and all evil which mars this fair world of ours, and shuts out the light of the kingdom of heaven.

MARGARET B. LUCAS, *President.*
JESSIE A. FOWLER, *Honorary Secretary.*

In 1886 Mrs. Lucas paid her second visit to America, as a delegate to the National Convention of the White Ribbon Women. Her reception was one that will always mark an epoch in the annals of the woman's temperance movement. The delegates rose in separate groups to give their greeting. First the crusaders in a body, second the women of New England, then of the Middle States, after these, those of the Western and the Pacific Coast, and last the Southern representatives, while English and American flags waved on the platform, and all joined in singing "God Save the Queen." The stirring scene was described by Miss Impey, one of the delegates who accompanied Mrs. Lucas, in the following words:

"While the enthusiasm was at its highest, Miss Willard took Mrs. Lucas by the hand, and they stood together before the cheering audience — a living illustration of the union between England and America, the mother and daughter, in this mighty crusade against strong drink."

Mrs. Margaret Bright Lucas was a Liberal in politics, and was president of the Bloomsbury Branch of the Woman's Liberal Association, working in the interests of that party, as it helps to advance the great reforms for the betterment of the social system. She accepted and indorsed Mrs. Fawcett's explanation of the reason why women require the franchise, viz.: "That the suffrage is the only means of cleansing the statute books of the laws that are oppressive to one sex." Mrs. Lucas lost no opportunity in her public addresses of emphasizing the fact that temperance legislation, to be successful, requires the woman's vote. "In politics," she said, "my principle is that women should work for women until they receive justice. My first duty is to woman, and as long as I can work I shall strive to obtain complete equality between women and men before the law."

After a short illness this veteran reformer, on February 4, 1890, at the age of seventy-one, passed through "the portal we call death" to her heavenly home.

At the annual council of the British Women's Temperance Association, in May, 1890, Lady Henry Somerset was elected her successor.

## THE ORIGIN, HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD'S WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION — ADDRESS BY ELIZABETH WHEELER ANDREW OF ILLINOIS.

In the year 1883 Miss Frances E. Willard, of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the United States, with her private secretary, Miss Gordon, visited every State and Territory of the Union, holding conventions and forming territorial and local branches.

When on the Pacific Coast, Miss Willard saw for the first time the life of the Orient meeting in tawny waves the current of Western civilization in the city of San Francisco. Her observations upon the opium habit, and other demoralizing innovations, caused her to turn with new zeal toward

the countries over that great Pacific Ocean upon whose shore she then stood, and for the first time she formed a definite determination to do all in her power to extend the mighty sway of White Ribbon organization, principles, and methods to the Eastern nations, indeed to every land upon the globe. This new impulse was communicated to the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union at its next annual convention, held in Detroit in the autumn of 1883. By her request a preliminary committee was appointed, consisting of the general officers (Miss Willard of Illinois, Mrs. Buell of Connecticut, Mrs. Woodbridge of Ohio, Mrs. Stevens of Maine, and Miss Pugh of Ohio).

Previous to this convention, Mrs. Mary Clement Leavitt of Boston had started on an organizing trip in the far West under the auspices of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and Miss Willard wrote asking if she would be willing to take the White Ribbon to the Sandwich Islands, Australia, and other countries. Mrs. Leavitt accepted the commission, and sailed from San Francisco to the Hawaiian Islands in 1884, organizing our society there, which has ever since maintained a healthful growth, and whence she was enabled to sail for Australia, friends in Honolulu bearing the expenses of her voyage. From New Zealand Mrs. Leavitt wrote Miss Willard that she could not see her way to go on to Asia unless at least a guarantee was given her that the necessary expenses of the journey should be paid by the Union. This was promised at once, and what was known as the "Leavitt Fund" was started by inserting a notice in the *Union Signal*, the official paper of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union. To this the White Ribboners responded so heartily that more than sufficient money for Mrs. Leavitt's needs was raised, and, by the latter's request, the name was changed to the "World's Fund," and applied to the aid of Miss Gray in Scandinavia, and other workers for the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union. For about seven years Mrs. Leavitt devoted herself to the work of organization in the

Hawaiian Islands, Australia, Madagascar, Africa, Burmah, India, China, Madeira, Mauritius, Ceylon, Siam, the Straits Settlements, Corea, Japan, and Europe, returning to Great Britain and America in 1891. No woman in the history of the world has made an expedition at once so long, so varied, and so productive of beneficent results. Wherever Mrs. Leavitt went she told the story of the Woman's Crusade against drink in the United States, and of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, which was the organized form and sober second thought of that great uprising. Wherever she went she carried the polyglot petition, which through her efforts was signed in well-nigh fifty languages, by persons of all races, nationalities, and religions. This petition asks for the overthrow of the alcohol and opium trades, and the elevation of the laws concerning social purity to the standard of Christian manhood and womanhood; for, as is well-known, the trinity of evils that most closely encompass the human race is the use of alcoholic beverages and opium, and unchastity in all its forms of degradation.

Mrs. Leavitt made known in every country the White Ribbon as the badge of purity, peace, patriotism, and prohibition; and urged that the noontide hour of prayer for the temperance work and workers should be observed by the women who, taking the pledge, formed with us the sacred tie of total abstinence and service. Her pioneer steps made smoother the pathway for us who have followed. She laid the foundations of the work broad and deep wherever it lay within human possibility to establish it, and her name is revered in all the lands where her consecrated lips uttered messages of righteousness.

Until the year 1891, the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union was conducted by means of committees appointed by the national societies in America and England. The general officers of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union served in this capacity in the United States, and in England a committee was appointed by the British Women's Temperance Association for the same purpose.

Mrs. Margaret Bright Lucas became the first president of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union in 1883, and the British Women's Temperance Association was affiliated to the organization in 1885. No constitution could be formed except a provisional one, which served until a permanent one was adopted at the first convention of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mass., U. S. A., November 10 and 11, 1891.*

The officers elected are as follows: Honorary president, Mrs. Mary Clement Leavitt of Boston, Mass., U. S. A.; president, Miss Frances E. Willard, Evanston, Ill., U. S. A.; vice-president-at-large, Lady Henry Somerset, 47 Victoria Street, London, England; secretary, Mrs. Mary A. Woodbridge, Ravenna, Ohio, U. S. A.; assistant secretary, Miss Anna A. Gordon, Evanston, Ill., U. S. A.; treasurer, Mrs. Ella F. M. Williams, 26 Chomedy Street, Montreal, Canada.

The following departments of work were adopted: 1. Evangelistic — World's temperance mission work, Bible readings, Sunday-school work, penal, charitable, and reformatory work, social purity, work among sailors, and work among policemen. 2. Organization — Juvenile work and young women's work. 3. Prevention — Peace and arbitration. 4. Educational — Scientific temperance instruction in schools, banks, press work. 5. Social — Parlor meetings, fairs and expositions. 6. Legal — Petitions and treaties.

In Mrs. Leavitt's report, extending to June 19, 1891, she states that she had then traveled upward of ninety-seven thousand miles during her pilgrimage of seven years, and had utilized the services of more than two hundred interpreters in forty-seven different languages. During all these years of travel she was assisted financially by the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union to the amount of less than two thousand dollars, all other funds being contributed by friends of our cause in foreign lands. After a brief stay in the United States, and

*See Appendix.

attendance at the first world's convention, Mrs. Leavitt sailed for South America, where she spent the winter of 1891–92, and planted the work amid many difficulties, thus finishing her prodigious undertaking, having, as she said, "not only gone around the world but well-nigh all over it." The winter of 1892–93, Mrs. Leavitt has spent in Honolulu witnessing the effect of her labors in these beautiful islands, the first place visited on her long tour, and gaining in that balmy climate renewal of physical strength from a greatly needed rest.

In the autumn of 1888 Miss Jessie Ackerman, the second round-the-world missionary of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, was sent forth, following in Mrs. Leavitt's footsteps, sailing from San Francisco and visiting the Hawaiian Islands first of all. Later she has labored in Japan, China, Siam, and the Australian Colonies, and recently has visited the Straits Settlements, Burmah, India, and Ceylon. She has made Australia her headquarters for four years, and has had remarkable success in organizing unions in all its seven colonies, including Tasmania and New Zealand. Two years ago, in May, 1891, the first intercolonial convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was held in Melbourne, the metropolis of Victoria, with forty-eight delegates; these represented eight thousand White Ribboners, at work in all the colonies of this vast island continent except Western Australia, which was not then organized. The National Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Australia was then formed, with a full corps of officers and superintendents of departments, Miss Ackerman being elected president. Miss Ackerman has called for no financial help from the American White Ribboners. Her method is that of giving a lecture at the close of her temperance mission in each place on some interesting theme of travel, taking the proceeds of the admission tickets to bear her expenses in furthering her work. She expects after the next convention of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Australia,

to be held in May, 1894, to continue her round-the-world journey in due course.

In 1890 the third and fourth round-the-world missionaries, Dr. Kate C. Bushnell and Mrs. Elizabeth W. Andrew, were appointed and sent out together; the former had been for five years the evangelist of the Social Purity Department of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union in the United States, and the latter for nearly eight years had been on the editorial staff of the *Union Signal*, the world's and national organ of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. It was understood that special emphasis should be given to the purity question, as well as to the presentation of our general lines of work. We received a commission in some respects different from that given the two pioneers who had preceded us, in that we were expected to make as quick a survey of the field as was possible consistent with the demands of the work in each country. It is perhaps for this reason that Miss Willard has requested me to write the paper now presented — I having so recently visited many of the lands inclosed within those bands of white which are swiftly uniting the women of the whole world in loyal sisterhood; and I trust that any appearance of obtrusiveness as regards my own personality may be forgiven because of this fact, and my desire to give the latest word obtainable from these far-away countries, a large number of which my friend and I have traversed within two years.

We left our native land from the eastern side early in 1891, and gave six months of service in Great Britain. Thence we went to South Africa, visiting Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange Free State, and the South African Republic, formerly known as the Transvaal. A winter in India followed, and later seven months of unremitting travel and toil in the colonies of Australia — Victoria, South Australia, New South Wales, Tasmania, and New Zealand. We went back to Ceylon at the end of 1892 for a brief stay, then to Egypt and Syria for a month, returning to England in March, 1893, having traveled since leaving the United

States eighty-seven thousand miles, crossed the equator four times, taken sixteen sea voyages, and given six hundred and seventy addresses to an estimated attendance of forty-five thousand people. After attending the World's Christian Temperance Union Convention, to be held in Chicago, October, 1893, we expect to resume our tour of the world, returning to England, visiting our unions on the Continent of Europe, and passing thence to Ceylon, Burmah, the Straits Settlements, China, Japan (with possibly Siam and Corea included), finishing with a visit to the Hawaiian Islands, and reaching home again by way of San Francisco. In all this swift and expensive traveling for two persons, passing quickly from land to land, we have received not a dollar from the home treasury, neither have we had private means to draw upon, but every need has been supplied through Him upon whom we cast all our care before we began this journey of faith and service. He has opened homes, and hearts, and purses wherever we have gone, and I record this to His praise, and in memory of all the abounding kindness received from our devoted White Ribboners in all the countries we have visited.

At the first convention of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union, in 1891, at which delegates were present from twenty-one countries, it was proposed by the Plan of Work Committee, Mrs. Leavitt, chairman, and carried by the convention, that at least six missionaries of the organization should be appointed, as soon as arrangements could be made to do so, with proper salaries and traveling expenses paid, to work in the following countries: One in Japan, one in China and Siam, one in British India, one in South Africa, one in West Africa, one in Egypt, Syria, and Asiatic Turkey, and a superintendent of world's temperance mission work was appointed to raise money and find workers, to complete the plan. It was also resolved to establish a bureau in each country as a center of information, and a repository of literature. In accordance with the foregoing plan, Miss Alice R. Palmer was sent out to South

Africa, the White Ribboners of that country pledging her financial support while in the field. She reached Cape Town July 19, 1892, and entered on her new labors with the same earnest vigor which had characterized her in her native State of Indiana as a phenomenally successful organizer.

This same year Miss Mary Allen West, so long the senior editor of the *Union Signal*, was appointed to service in Japan. She arrived there in October, 1892, and was received by the Japanese people with an overwhelming welcome. Invitations poured in upon her for public work, which her generous heart could not find courage to refuse. She held not less than three meetings daily — except when actually on the wing — and sometimes during the last two months of her earthly career, five addresses were given within twenty-four hours. "Her brief tour in Japan was triumphal. The hearts and homes of the Japanese people were opened wide to her, and she was admired and feasted and listened to, as few have been, in their own or in foreign lands." She gave a mighty impetus to our work in the "Sunrise Land." The name proved prophetic to her, for here her earthly day was swallowed up in the eternal morning as the old year drew to its close. Miss Willard wrote thus of her tried and trusted comrade: "It is so everywhere, the rising tide of the world's greatest reform threatens to draw in its leaders and its rank and file to premature weariness, disease, and death. Our brave general has fallen at her post with her face to the foe; her death renders the soil of Japan forever sacred to all White Ribboners, and the fragrance of her memory gilds that far-distant country with a perpetual charm."

The following countries have come into the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union: The United States, Great Britain, Australia, Canada, the Hawaiian Islands, New Zealand, Queensland, Victoria, South Australia, New South Wales, Tasmania, Ceylon, Sweden, Turkey, Japan, China, Siam, the Straits Settlements,

Burmah, India, Cape Colony, Mauritius, Madagascar, France, Denmark, Norway, Chili, Natal, the Orange Free State, Sierra Leone, Asia Minor, Corea, the Bahamas, Newfoundland, the Madeira Islands, Spain, Russia, Mexico, Italy, Egypt, Syria, Greece, the South African Republic, Brazil — over forty.

## THE UNITED STATES.

The United States heads the list of federated countries, as being the mother of the whole movement, taking its rise in the Woman's Temperance Crusade of 1874, and as having led the way to the development of more than forty departments of work, under the general divisions of Evangelistic, Organization, Preventive, Educational, Social, and Legal. The first president was Mrs. Annie Wittenmeyer. Miss Frances E. Willard has led the hosts since 1878, a cherished and honored leader. The membership includes nearly one hundred and fifty thousand with a following of not less than three hundred thousand; all the States and Territories are organized and officered.

Among the large undertakings projected by the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, or numbered in the list of its affiliated interests, may be named the National Temperance Hospital, the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association, the Temple, scientific temperance instruction in the public schools, and the sending forth of the polyglot petition.

The National Temperance Hospital, located in Chicago, was founded in 1884, with the avowed object of scientifically demonstrating to the world that alcohol can be dispensed with in the treatment of disease. This institution has had large success. The Clara Barton Training School for Nurses is a successful part of its plan. Two enthusiastic young women from Japan are now in the hospital taking a course of study which will enable them to return to their native land thoroughly prepared to treat disease without

the use of alcoholic spirits. Mrs. M. E. Kline is president of the Board of Directors.

The Woman's Temperance Publishing Association is the largest publication society of women in the world. Its headquarters are in the Temple at Chicago; it has been in existence only fourteen years; its postage bill during 1892 was over ten thousand dollars, and the number of pages printed one hundred and thirty-five millions; its principal publication, the *Union Signal*, the World's and National Woman's Christian Temperance Union official organ, which has an average circulation of eighty thousand weekly, and the paper goes to nearly fifty countries of the globe. Frances E. Willard is the editor-in-chief, Lady Henry Somerset contributing editor, Miss Margaret A. Sudduth managing editor, and Mrs. Harriet B. Kells office editor. Mrs. Caroline F. Grow is the business manager. The affairs are administered by a Board of Directors composed of women, whose president is Mrs. Matilda B. Carse. It has regular publications for the assistance of the unions, such as monthly Bible readings, and responsive readings relating to all the departments of work; also a paper called the *Oak and Ivy Leaf* for the young women of the society, and *The Young Crusader* for the children, besides a great variety of leaflets and books to meet all the needs of this vast and far-reaching organization.

The Temple at Chicago stands as a monument to women's faith and enterprise, situated in the very heart of the business thoroughfares of this phenomenal city, thirteen stories high, costing one million, one hundred thousand dollars, commanding and beautiful in its proportions, containing Willard Hall, that Mecca of faithful White Ribboners and the place of daily noontide prayer and soul-winning, large enough to hold seven hundred people, ample in its accommodations not only for the World's National, State, and city Woman's Christian Temperance Union headquarters, as well as our great publishing interests, but also affording office room sufficient to bring the rental up to a figure of

two hundred thousand dollars annually. It is surely destined within a few years to be a gift from God himself to the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, in answer to the faith and devoted service of Mrs. Matilda B. Carse, the founder, and those who have devotedly worked and prayed with her.

Some one has called the Temple "the great monument of the modern temperance reform, the mile-post of the century's philanthropy." No liquor or tobacco can be sold under its roof. It is lined throughout all its thirteen stories in white marble, and has two beautiful fountains, one furnished by the women of Chautauqua County, New York, at the entrance to Willard Hall, and the other designed by Miss Whitney, the great sculptor, to be unveiled during the Columbian Exposition, is the gift of White Ribbon children the world over in the Loyal Temperance Legions.

## SCIENTIFIC TEMPERANCE INSTRUCTION.

Another notable achievement of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union is that of obtaining laws in all the States of the Union, save eight, requiring that the baleful effects of alcohol, opium, and tobacco be taught in all grades of the public schools, and a national law requiring the same teaching to be given in all schools in the District of Columbia and the Territories, also in all national military and naval academies, thus bringing more than twelve millions of children under this beneficent instruction.

At the head of the Department of Scientific Temperance Instruction for the World's and National Woman's Christian Temperance Union is Mrs. Mary H. Hunt of Massachusetts, and the work has been extended, with variations as to interest, method, and legal force, to Canada, Sweden, Finland, Germany, Bulgaria, Turkey, India, Siam, China,

Japan, South Australia, Queensland, New Zealand, Victoria, Hawaiian Islands, South Africa, and Mexico.*

This world's petition first emanated from the White Ribboners of the United States, but has become truly a world-wide possession and undertaking. The president, Miss Willard, thus writes: "It is intended that the whole force of this world's union of women shall be turned upon international questions affecting social and temperance reforms. As one of the instruments to this end, the great petition gives a practical direction to the new world-sense that thrills the hearts of women in this last decade of our century. It calls for no money, it even demands no personal pledge from those who sign or indorse it, but it only asks that the nations of the world may put away the unholy traffic in alcohol and opium with which every Christian nation is more or less in complicity.

"The circulation of this petition must in the very nature of things cause an arrest of thought wherever it goes, and aid us, as Christian women, banded together in the belief that our united faith and works will, with God's blessing, prove helpful in creating a strong public sentiment in favor of personal purity of life, including total abstinence from all narcotic poisons, and the protection of the home by outlawing the traffic in alcoholic liquors, opium, tobacco, and impurity."

A petition nearly twelve miles long, signed in well-nigh fifty languages, carrying already almost two million names, "and which it is hoped will have double that number before it is called in for exhibition at the World's Fair in 1893, preparatory to setting forth on its world-wide mission to the rulers of all nations, will be in itself a vast object-lesson, crystalizing into one burning focus the hopes and prayers, the agony and tears of wives and mothers, sisters and

* It is impossible to give space to the particular report presented of the temperance work in each of the countries named; and such reports more properly belong to the unabridged record of the Congress, which is to be published by the United States Government.

daughters around the globe, and it might well be a spectacle on which angels should gaze with sympathy."

Perhaps the best work done in any one country in the circulation and obtaining signatures to the world's petition is that accomplished by Miss G. F. Morgan of Brecon, South Wales, throughout Great Britain. So zealous were her efforts that Lady Henry Somerset was able to carry the signatures of two hundred and fifty thousand persons with her, to be presented as England's contribution to the world's petition work, when she went to America to attend the first World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union convention in 1891.

I close in Mrs. Leavitt's words: "If there was in the beginning any doubt as to the feasibility of Miss Willard's grand conception, it must have long since passed away. The White Ribbon has belted the world. The noontide prayer never ceases." The World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union is an accomplished fact.

N. B. The summary of temperance work in other countries will be found in the Appendix.—[THE EDITOR.]

FRANCES E. WILLARD.

## CHAPTER VIII.— THE CIVIL AND POLITICAL STATUS OF WOMEN.

PREFATORY COMMENT BY THE EDITOR — EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES DELIVERED IN THE GENERAL CONGRESS AND FROM DISCUSSIONS OF SAID ADDRESSES BY MRS. JACOB BRIGHT, FLORENCE FENWICK MILLER, THE COUNTESS OF ABERDEEN, LILLIE DEVEREUX BLAKE, FRANCES E. W. HARPER, MARGARET WINDEYER, J. ELLEN FOSTER, REV. EUGENIA T. ST. JOHN, MARY FROST ORMSBY, IDA A. HARPER, LILLIAN DAVIS DUNCANSON, LAURA M. JOHNS, SARAH C. HALL, SUSAN B. ANTHONY, AND MARTHA STRICKLAND — EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION BY ELIZABETH CADY STANTON AND HELEN H. GARDENER — EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE ORDER OF THE EASTERN STAR BY MARY A. FLINT — EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE LOYAL WOMEN OF AMERICAN LIBERTY BY ABBIE A. C. PEASLIE — EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE DEPARTMENT CONGRESS OF THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL INDIAN ASSOCIATION BY MRS. WILLIAM E. BURKE — EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES DELIVERED IN THE REPORT CONGRESS BY THE COUNTESS OF ABERDEEN, THE BARONESS ALEXANDRA GRIPENBERG, AND THE BARONESS THORBORG-RAPPE.

ONE still frequently hears that the cause popularly known as the "Woman's Rights Movement" has made little progress; that the interest in it, always limited to a small and peculiar class, has grown languid even within that class; that the majority of men hold in contempt claims and aspirations which the majority of women regard with indifference. These assertions are made in the face of such facts and conditions as are presented in this chapter. Here we find representatives of countries as remote and as different from one another as Sweden and the United States, Scotland and Australia, Finland and England, telling, with variations but slightly accentuated by nationality and form of government, the

same story of the steady growth in the minds of men and women of a conviction of their essential equality; and of the development in women of a consciousness of responsibility for the weal of that public of which they are a part. The twenty-four addresses here reproduced in part are but a fraction of all those bearing on the same themes delivered during the congress week.

No bodies of women organized for any public object could be more conservative than those found in "The National Association of Loyal Women of American Liberty" and "The Women's National Indian Association." The former stands for the protection of the American public school system; the latter for the protection of a waning race, aliens in their native land. The former springs from maternal instinct, supported by religious zeal; the latter springs from the sentiments of pity and justice fused into the spirit of philanthropy. What could be more feminine from the conservative standpoint, what more conservative from any standpoint, than the motives, the *raisons d'être*, of these organizations? Yet their members confess that the ballot is the ultimate instrument by which their ends are to be gained and retained.

If there is a conservative institution in the world — one resting on precedent, one observant of forms — it is Masonry; and the charity in whose name it exerts its vast power is an indispensable characteristic of the "womanly woman." Yet here we have the "Order of the Eastern Star" lauded as a training-school in which women are learning to administer the large affairs and the public offices to which modern life is calling them.

It is to be noted, also, that what is clearly stated in this chapter concerning women's public interests, their civil rights and corresponding obligations, their political privileges and consequent duties, is in every previous chapter hardly less clearly implied. One hesitates to emphasize upon the attention of the reader the personality of the women here introduced; but their character and

their positions are a sufficient answer to the charge still heard, that enlarged civil rights and the ballot are sought and advocated only by the poor, the eccentric, the miserable; by those who, having failed in their personal careers, seek a public arena for airing their private wrongs.

More emphatically than any preceding chapter does this inculcate the need of adding to the catalogue of womanly virtues that of *public spirit*, which is the only virtue that implies and, in its turn, generates that consciousness of kinship with others which alone makes obedience to the Golden Rule possible.

In this chapter addresses are given in practical completeness. In some instances abstracts, or condensations of the discussions, are given instead of extracts.— [THE EDITOR.]

## THE ORIGIN AND OBJECTS OF THE WOMEN'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND — ADDRESS BY MRS. JACOB BRIGHT OF ENGLAND, READ BY MRS. COBDEN UNWIN OF ENGLAND, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE LEAGUE.

The cause of the emancipation of women, represented in England more completely by the Women's Franchise League than by any other society, has made great progress on this side of the Atlantic during the last four years.

Our new society, the formation of which constitutes an epoch in the history of the cause, was founded in 1889, by some of the oldest workers in questions affecting the interests of women. Those who founded this league perceived that the time had come when a much broader and bolder claim must be made on behalf of the sex than had hitherto been preferred.

For twenty years the ordinary suffrage societies had restricted their efforts to obtaining the parliamentary vote for a certain number of spinsters and widows. They had

never ventured, since Mr. Mill and Mr. Jacob Bright had had charge of the question in the House of Commons, to hope that "duly qualified" wives might be allowed to share in the privilege demanded for "duly qualified" spinsters and widows. They do not now venture in plain language to ask for votes for married women, although the limitation resulting from the legal qualifications required in this country not only makes such a claim easy, but renders ignominious the cowardice which dares not face so small an ordeal. These are the facts:

Mr. Gladstone in the election of 1886 had openly expressed his desire that women should assist in the carrying of home rule for Ireland. Women's Liberal associations were quickly formed all over the country and a general federation of these associations was constituted. A great council of delegates from about four hundred of these associations meets every year in London. Mrs. Gladstone occupied the position of president until last year, and retired only on account of the heavy duties connected with her husband's accession to office. In May, 1892, the United Associations of the Federation unanimously decided to press upon the Liberal party the question of the representation of women, and in consequence of the stong exertions of the Women's Franchise League a unanimous vote was given to enlarge the demand by the inclusion of all ratifying women, whether married, single, or widowed. In having obtained this unanimous vote from so powerful and representative a body as the Women's Liberal Federation, one great point was gained, as Mr. Gladstone has more than once opposed women's suffrage bills, among other reasons, because they did not include married women.

There are in this country only about nine hundred thousand women, including probably about two hundred thousand married women, who are able to fulfill the legal conditions which, in the case of men, qualify them for the vote. That is to say, the married and unmarried women together,

if enfranchised, would, under the present law, amount to only one-seventh of the voting power of the country. Yet so timid are the women's suffrage societies that, even this year, after the emphatic vote of the Women's Liberal Federation, they made no protest when Mr. Charles McLaren, who had charge of the bill, declared in a letter to the honorable secretary of the League that it "would be impossible to take a second reading on a bill which expressly enfranchised married women."

As Mr. Charles McLaren is himself a man of large and liberal mind, and quite in favor of the programme of the Women's Franchise League, which claims absolute equality of rights and privileges for women with men in every department of human life and duty, such a statement must appear incomprehensible to outsiders.

The explanation lies in the want of courage and faith shown by those who have directed the movement. They are only slowly beginning to realize the issues at stake. They have not fought the question with the open assurance of those who know they have a good cause and have faith in the sense of justice of their countrymen. Timid counsels have prevailed, and every year our suffrage bills have been drafted to suit the supposed narrow prejudices of Tories or second-hand Liberals. It has been taken for granted that a fair bill could not pass the House of Commons, and therefore it was held to be useless to present one. All wives must be excluded from the vote. Men must be deceived and over-reached; they must be coaxed into giving way. We must drive in the thin end of the wedge, and then all would come right, etc. Of course these tactics have failed, as they were bound to fail. The indignation roused at the attempt to exclude the class which contains the greatest number of sufferers for want of representation, has alone been sufficient to paralyze the efforts made to give votes to the unmarried and the widowed. The policy of the Franchise League is wholly different. We hold that raising the status of the wife is of more importance than

giving votes to a few women because they are not married. We believe in the essential oneness of the interests of women and men, and we appeal to the sense of justice of the latter to allow us our fair share in shaping the destinies of our common country. Men and women have separate spheres no doubt, but it is not for one sex to arrogate to itself the sole right to define the limits of those spheres. We ask for perfect freedom, that each may develop the best that is in him for the good of the whole. We do not believe that men will be able or will desire to resist the expression of the united voice of the women of the country. We seek to mold public opinion by creating public sympathy with our loyal desire to help in public work.

To sum up its objects, then, the Women's Franchise League claims equality —

(*a.*) Of political rights and duties.

(*b.*) Of educational opportunities (whether as a means of culture or as aids to secure the means of living).

(*c.*) Of wages for women, for work of equal quality and quantity with that done by men.

(*d.*) Of the right to hold any office or position, paid or honorary, to which her fellow-citizens may elect her, or which is in the gift of the state.

The League claims, also, equality —

(*a.*) In the marriage laws.

(*b.*) In divorce.

(*c.*) In our right to the custody and guardianship of children born in wedlock.

(*d.*) Of personal freedom and the rights and liabilities of contract.

The legal position of the wife in England is a scandal to civilization. We desire to set down nothing in malice and to exaggerate nothing, but the object of this report is not to send a glowing account of English women's freedom to our sisters across the sea. We do not need to tell you that there are in England as large a proportion of happy homes as in any country on the face of the earth. What we do

need to point out is that this happiness is not the result of legal protection, but of the fact that the vast majority of our countrymen are too just to abuse the enormous powers at their discretion.

How greatly such powers are abused by some, however, and almost with impunity, is partially detailed in a painful article on the "Maltreatment of Wives," which appeared in the March number of the *Westminster Review* of this year, by Miss Mabel Sherman Crawford. This article opens with a quotation from the address of Mr. Justice Denman at the Liverpool Assizes last July. In commenting on the many serious cases for trial of aggravated assaults on wives by their husbands, the judge said: "It is lamentable to find the view pervading certain classes that the life of a wife is less sacred than that of other people."

It may be lamentable, but it is not surprising, that ignorant and brutal men should not show more respect and consideration for their wives than is shown by the law of the land, and by the magistrates, who often deliberately refuse to use the meager powers the law allows to protect married women.

Mr. Gladstone is fully aware of the moral importance of supporting the case for the wife, and has denounced in strong language some of the inequalities of the laws with regard to her. Indeed, with regard to the position of women generally he has shown that his conscience is not quite at ease. While suggesting a doubt whether the Creator intended woman for political life, he acknowledges in a recently printed letter that "men have been most unfaithful guardians of her right to moral and social equality."

We ask these "unfaithful guardians" to give up a charge for which they are obviously unfitted. There is no such thing as "moral and social equality" apart from political equality. An unrepresented class is always a neglected, abused, and degraded class.

The present is a very serious as well as a most interesting crisis. What will the Liberal party do for us? Will it

be true to its own traditions and to the great principles which have given it the preëminence it now enjoys? The Women's Franchise League is supported by advanced thinkers in all ranks of society. The leaders of the working-men are almost to a man on our side. The chiefs of the Liberal women — Lady Aberdeen, Lady Henry Somerset, Lady Carlisle, Lady Stevenson, Lady Trevelyan, among others — support our programme and are vice-presidents of our society. At the last election we were strongly appealed to not to make a test question of the women's right to representation, on account of the Home Rule Bill for Ireland. How long are we to be expected to postpone the pressing necessities of a whole sex to the convenience of party politicians? The country is quite ready for woman suffrage. Everywhere men gladly welcome our help in elections. While Welshmen, railway men, miners, teetotalers, and every section of the labor party were pressing their claims with scant consideration for the convenience of the party, women alone quietly resigned long-cherished hopes and worked with a will for the party pledged to do justice to the sister island. The women of the Liberal party know, however, that they could do better work for others if they were themselves free; and they wait for the symbol of their freedom in the vote.

## WORK OF THE FRANCHISE LEAGUE — ADDRESS BY FLORENCE FENWICK MILLER OF ENGLAND.

In alluding to the lady whose paper you have just heard, Mrs. Jacob Bright, sister-in-law of the Hon. John Bright, and well worthy to bear that honored name, I should like to tell you it was almost entirely owing to Mrs. Jacob Bright that the Married Women's Property Act was passed, by which men voluntarily gave over from their own management about thirty millions of money annually. That is what is computed to be the amount of property owned by

married women in England. It was a grand thing to do. I feel that when men have been induced in England to allow married women to have control of their own property, there is not anything that they can not, by degrees, be induced to do.

The Women's Franchise League for the first time in the history of the women's movement has claimed simply equality between men and women. By this we do not mean equality in physical capacity or an equality which is unnatural; we are all of us well aware that there is no such thing as natural equality. We are born with very unequal powers. When we ask, therefore, that women shall be on an equality with men, we are not standing forward as saying, I am as good as you. What we claim is not a pretended equality; we make no wild assertion that we are as wise and as good as men; nothing of that kind enters into the minds of women. We simply claim, as your Declaration of Independence claims, that we shall not be stigmatized by disabilities and have disadvantages placed upon us, because of an accident of birth. We ask only an absolutely free field, in which the natural equalities or inequalities may be developed. We do claim for one-half of the human race a fair field and no favor in this battle of life which we all have to pass through. We demand equality in opportunity for education; we demand equality in every respect before the law. The days of slavery should be over for women as well as for the black race. We demand equality between the father and the mother in the household; we demand equality between men and women in every trade and profession. We ask that the disability that has been put as a great stumbling-block in the way of women shall be lifted out of the way, and that when a child begins life, that child, be it a boy or a girl, shall find no artificial difficulties, no unnatural obstacles in the way. It shall be allowed to go along through life cultivating to the best of its capacity that which is given it, yielding to the world the utmost service of which it is capable. In the first place, we must

have equality in education and training. It may be true that women as a sex are inferior to men as a sex; I am not disposed to discuss that matter further. But if the woman is naturally inferior to the man, then there is all the more reason why every advantage of training and education should be presented to the girl. When you handicap a horse in the race, I am not aware that you put the heavier weight on the weaker horse.

I suppose the American women have greater educational opportunities in many respects, and have gone far beyond us. On the other hand, Englishmen have opportunities of education which are not equaled anywhere else in the world. Although Englishwomen have within a comparatively recent time been admitted to the various universities, they are still educationally left far behind their brothers. Our old universities are to some extent open to women, but far from efficiently. In the universities of Oxford and Cambridge we have scholarships -- I don't know what you call them here; but there is a very large income belonging to both of those universities for this purpose. The professors are also paid by endowment. When a man goes to one of these great universities he reaps the advantages of centuries of hoarded learning. Women are expected to be thankful, and are thankful, that they are admitted to one little tiny corner; but in that tiny corner there are no free places. The women have to pay their own professors entirely for the extra work which is done. The women have had to help the men from the very foundation with money that has been accumulating for centuries. But this help is entirely lacking in the case of the women, although a great number of those institutions have been left money by women for the education of men; that is one respect in which the Englishwomen are still very far from equality. We are, however, encouraged in regard to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. They are doing very well. Saint Andrew's University has this very year set aside a sum from its funds of no less than forty thousand pounds a year for women.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have stated why we ask for equality in education; I now proceed to invite your attention to the necessity of equality before the law, and equality in domestic life. I can not, with the brief time at our disposal, attempt to tell you what our civil laws about women had become in England under an absurd theory that women were to be legislated for as something quite different from men, not equal beings with men, or the other half of the human race; but I will tell you briefly this: In 1837, the year that Queen Victoria came to the throne, the greatest law reformer England has ever known, Lord Brougham, said the laws about women were in such a bad state that he dared not endeavor to amend one of them, because, so vile were they, as soon as the attention was directed to them he believed that most of them would crumble away, and most of the human relationships would be left without a law. This was said as recently as when the queen came to the throne, and this condition lasted for many years afterward. The position of English married women was that of slaves; they had no personal liberty. It had been held by judges that a husband had the right to imprison his wife if she was about to do anything contrary to his wishes. She could not hold any property which came to her by any means whatever; it was her husband's and not hers. The married woman could be deserted by her husband and left to struggle alone in the world. She had absolutely no rights over the child whom she bore in pain to him, and whom she nursed with her very heart's blood. If it pleased her husband, without giving any reason whatever he might take the babe from her breast, and he might take the growing girl and hide her from the mother at that very moment when the mother most yearns for her. As a judge declared only ten years ago, "The English law does not see the mother; the English law sees only the father of the child, and not the English wife." In short, the wife is "under coverture," as it is called in civil law. She is as completely covered by the personality of her husband as though she did not exist. When her husband was a good man, she

was a happy woman; when the slave had a good master, all went well. Englishmen did not make these laws one by one with the deliberate intention of subjecting or misleading the young women of England, but they heaped up great mountains of cruelty and injustice, on the theory expressed in the quotation which I have already given from Lord Brougham, that, when any of the laws were touched, so vile were they, that they must fall to pieces. This is the result of the theory of inequality. Let us take a firm ground on equality, and see that the laws between men and women shall be made equal. That can only be done, ladies and gentlemen, as I fully believe, by the women themselves having a voice in the making of laws which shall govern all. I regret to tell you that the Women's Franchise League is the only society in England which demands absolute equality between men and women, demanding that marriage shall not be for the woman any disqualification. That brings me to the point with which I shall conclude. I believe that marriage should take place only where the husband, entirely of his own free will, divests himself of any mastery the laws of custom and society can give him, and stands on an equal plane with the woman who shares his life, recognizing in her his equal in every daily walk of life; his equal in the nurture of their children; his equal in the authority and the cares that belong to their joint household. That point some have already reached. We hope in the future to see all marriages so made that one can realize the highest possibility of that great relationship.

### Woman as an Actual Force in Politics — Address by the Countess of Aberdeen of England, Representative of the Women's Liberal Federation of England.

I suppose I have been asked to take this subject of the work of women in relation to politics because the women of Great Britain have taken a more advanced position on this

subject than the women of any other nation. Of the origin and character of that work itself I hope to have an opportunity to speak to-morrow, when called upon to represent the Women's Liberal Federation of England and the Women's Liberal Federation of Scotland. To-day I should rather approach my subject from the point of view of those who ask whether women should seek to be an actual force in politics, for I know there are many who, not unnaturally, hesitate over the answer to that question, here as well as at home. I would like to explain from the outset that it is a mystery to me how any woman who has faced the matter can think it anything else but her plain matter-of-course duty to take an interest in politics, as far as she is able; and when one comes to look at the matter from a Christian point of view, the obligation becomes a hundredfold more imperative. So, in answer to the question, I reply, in words which I have often used on my own behalf and on behalf of hundreds and thousands of other women in our country who have taken up political work during the last six years, — "We are politicians because it has been shown to us that we can not do our duty, either to our own homes or to our country, without being so."

Friends and foes alike often tell us that politics will always mean dirty work, and that fine sentiments and high aims are all very well for public platforms, but that they will not go down in practical daily life; and that this being so, we had better keep clear of what will inevitably tend to lower our standards of right and wrong. Our action in taking up politics is regarded in this light not only by those whose gibes and sneers we may very easily ignore, but it pains and grieves many good men and women — some, indeed, of the best men and women, and some of these may be very dear friends of our own. We have to meet their remonstrances. They tell us sadly that in their eyes we have come off our pedestal; that we have disappointed them; that a woman's influence and power were meant to be exerted at home, not in the din of public life; and that

they can not bear the idea that any woman for whom they have any regard should be mixed up with the rough-and-tumble of politics. They want to keep us apart from all that; they want to build a temple for us where they can enshrine us apart from and above the world's rough ways and evils. And we, feeling to the full the value of their estimate of womanhood and their chivalrous feeling for us, shrink from their reproaches, and from the thought that we are becoming unwomanly in their sight, and perhaps, indeed, taking away their ideal of womanhood. But we must face it out, and see on what these objections are founded. That they do point to a possible danger we must admit, and we must beware of it. But, as a rule, I think we may say that we shall find that the objections proceed principally from two sources: First, a very partial ideal of what a woman's life should be; and second, a low estimate of politics. Let us look at the last first. When we go to political meetings — men's political meetings — we hear often a great deal of what politics should accomplish; that the end of all politics is the well-being of the people. We hear of all the good and noble things that such and such a policy has accomplished and will accomplish for the people — things that affect the lives and homes of the people, that make a vast difference to their happiness and to their power of living good and healthy lives. Many are the eloquent speeches we hear on the subject. And yet they come home and tell us that politics are not for women, that they would debase and degrade women; these politics which are to raise the whole people would contaminate us.

How do we reconcile these two statements? Do those who make the speeches believe in what they are saying publicly, or do they say it only to catch the ear of the people, and do they really believe in their hearts that political life as a matter of fact means only a race between men and between parties for power, influence, place and fame? With such an estimate of political life we can have nothing to do, and we do not wonder that any who incline toward

such a view should use their best endeavor to keep us out of it. But we believe there are grand principles which may and which should inspire the government of the people, by the people, for the people; we believe implicitly in their power, when properly applied, to reform, and ennoble and uplift; and that it is our duty as citizens to help forward such application. We desire to carry out these principles faithfully in our own lives, and we look upon those who follow politics for selfish and unworthy ends as traitors to the cause. And the reason why the vast majority of us who take up political work claim the suffrage, is because we believe we can not do our duty in these directions until we have it.

Any of us who know anything of the lives of the poor, know how the social questions which we discuss backward and forward are living, pressing realities to them. Questions about education, labor, the sweating system, licensing evils, the workhouse system, are all sternly real to them, and especially so to the women. We must so believe in our politics that we shall both believe and act as if politics must deal with these questions. We are not content to talk about these problems; we desire to understand them, and to help our fellow-women, who have such hard lives and so little leisure, to understand them too, so that they may decide what is to be done — they who will have the power when the time comes.

We must also believe in the power of right political thought in foreign politics. We must not give way to the idea that what is wrong in private life can ever be right in political life. We must not believe that what would be dishonorable or unjust in dealing one with another can be right and honorable in dealing with nations.

Then, as to the other misconception, which lies often at the root of the objections of which we have been speaking — a partial ideal for women. A true standard for womanhood is a great need; for the good of both women and men it is needed. The ideal women in poetry and fiction are

generally represented in their own homes, spreading a bright and holy influence as sister, daughter, wife, and mother. Woman at her own fireside is enshrined as woman at her best. Far be it from me to disparage such an ideal. I only venture to say that it is an ideal which does not include the whole of a woman's life, and that true ideals are always expanding and enlarging. Woman is a human being as well as a woman, and must have duties as such toward human beings outside her own home circle, and toward her country.

"Oh, yes; she has social duties," some will say. What does that mean, I wonder? She must be kept apart from the roughness of life, apart from the evils of life; this would not mean studying social questions, and taking a high stand regarding them. No; social duties would mean, I suppose, leaving cards and returning visits, dining out and going to evening parties, developing all social talent and doing that which really is woman's duty in political life, making herself agreeable to all who would advance her husband or his party, never mind who and what they are. Would that fill out the social life of the ideal woman who must not touch political life for fear of its defiling her? No, let us remember rather the ideal sketched for us by Lowell in one of his beautiful poems:

> For with a gentle courage she doth strive,
> In thought, in word, in feeling, so to live
> As to make earth next heaven; and her heart
> Herein doth show its most exceeding worth,
> That, bearing in her frailty her just part,
> She hath not shrunk from evils of this life,
> But hath gone calmly forth into the strife,
> And all its sins and sorrows hath withstood
> With lofty strength of patient womanhood.

That seems a truer notion of the responsibility of life than the picture of her who is simply the angel of the home. Does not the older conception of the perfect woman also seem rather unfair to the husband? Does it not imply that he recognizes only a perfection which consists in minister-

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ing to his and his children's wants and pleasures? Is there not a nobler idea in a husband's and a wife's giving up part of each other's life, giving up their children, too, to the service of humanity, and by their sacrifice perfecting their own lives?

But it may be said in answer to this that women can and do give up their lives to the service of humanity without ever touching politics.

That is so; but is it right? At least, is it right for those of us who believe in our country, and in the justice and wisdom of her laws? Where the people are ground down by their rulers, or where they have no voice in the making or modification of their laws, it may be the only plan to try to alleviate suffering or help forward the people by working through individual agencies; but surely in countries where boards are appointed to attend to education for the poor, to municipal or other local affairs, and where we elect representatives to look after the interests of the people, we must needs show our respect for our country, its laws, and its institutions by striving to make these boards, and parliaments, and congresses as efficient, as pure, as earnest for the real good of the people as it is possible for them to be.

I must not dwell longer on this subject. I should like you, however, to ask our friends who grieve over us what their ideal of a woman's life is? If they agree that a true woman's life should touch life from every side, then politics must be included. It must not predominate, but it must be included, otherwise assuredly there will be a want; there will be a lack of balance, for certain conditions of life will not be weighed or understood. And so once more I say that the reason why those for whom I speak have become politicians is because we have the strong conviction that woman has a political duty which she owes to her country; not the same as that of men, but, as in all other departments in life, man and woman working side by side, each in his or her own way, will best be able to

accomplish the allotted task of leaving the world better than they found it.

### THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED IN AN ADDRESS BY LILLIE DEVEREUX BLAKE OF NEW YORK.

It may be that the best way in which I can illustrate what women can do in politics is to give you a brief chapter from the history of my own State of New York. It has been said that all things come to him who waits, but I think that sentence can be improved upon by saying that all things come to her who strives. It is better to strive than to wait. In 1878 a bill passed through the Legislature which gave the women of New York the right to serve as members of the school board and as school board officers. Then Governor Robinson vetoed the bill; he said the God of nature didn't intend women for public offices. Mr. Robinson asked a reëlection for Governor; we decided that the God of nature did not intend Mr. Robinson for Governor of New York. We opposed his election in every way. We organized, in every city, political meetings. In many of the cities there are strong political organizations. You have heard how it has worked in Kansas, how they have retired the Hon. John J. Ingalls to private life. In New York we organized against Mr. Robinson. Here and there we held our conventions, and Mr. Robinson was retired to private life. Within a few days Mr. Cornell took the seat of Governor, and the Woman's Suffrage Bill was passed through both branches of the Legislature and received the Governor's signature. That bill provided that any moral woman might serve as a school officer, and might vote at all school elections. Step by step we have built up the bill. We have passed a bill decreeing that saleswomen generally shall have seats while they are not occupied in waiting on customers. We have passed a bill providing for women on the boards of public institutions, such as the lunatic asylum,

prisons, etc. We have passed a bill that no insane woman shall pass through the State unless she be accompanied by a woman, and we have passed a number of bills of minor importance. We have passed the Police Matron's Bill. When we first took hold of this matter, all women who were arrested were entirely in the hands of men. If a young woman was arrested for a first offense, it was men who examined her, talked with her, took care of her. If a lady in any of our streets in New York was knocked down, she was taken to the police station, where she was put into the hands of men. If a woman were accused of theft, she was searched by men, notwithstanding the manifest disgracefulness of it. Since we passed the Police Matron's Bill, we have had a matron in charge of certain police stations, of every station to which women are taken. These are some of the victories we have achieved.

The latest triumph we have gained in the State of New York, and the most important that has ever been gained, is the passage last winter of the bill which provides that women are eligible to seats in the Constitutional Convention of 1894. That is a great concession, as great as has ever been made to women.

Mrs. Fenwick Miller told you of the wrong that existed in England in the fact that men alone are guardians of the children. Do you know in almost every State of the Union that infamous law prevails? Under the former law in New York the father of the child, although only a minor, might take the child from its mother's arms as soon as it was born. That law stood on our statute books for years. It was one of the things we fought against most strongly. I will give you one instance of the working of this law. A couple were married in the State of New York, and they were very unhappy together. After a child had been born the mother went to live in New Jersey, where, under the laws, the woman had an equal right with the man to the child. The wife went away to take care of a neighbor one night, and toward daylight, as she was coming home, she saw her

husband starting from the house with the baby in his arms. She followed him as fast as she could. It was where Staten Island and the Jersey shore are right opposite each other. Perhaps some of you recollect there is a long trestle there that branches over that arm of the sea; the man started across that slippery way, the woman following him step by step, he bearing the child in his arms. It was dark, and everything was wet, and as he went on the mother followed, not knowing what moment she might slip to her death, but determined to follow her child. Half-way across the man turned and said if she didn't stop he would cast the child into the sea. That did not deter her, as she probably knew what kind of a man he was. Step by step she followed until they had crossed the long, weary way, until the opposite side was reached; then the man made a dash for the ferry, and the woman ran after him as fast as she could, but not so quickly. A boat was waiting, and as the man sprang on the boat he turned and said, "Stop that woman! she is crazy; the child is mine." So it was by the laws of the State of New York then, but we went up to the Legislature and we had that law changed, and now in my commonwealth of New York I can proudly say that the mother and father are equal guardians of their children. They say to us that when we go up to the Legislature we are lobbyists. We are not lobbyists; we are there representing the unrepresented half. We have paid our proportion, from the very foundation to the frescoed dome of that capitol. We have paid half of every man's salary there. Now, friends, this incident which I have related took place on the Jersey shore, just in sight of the Statue of Liberty. The Statue of Liberty is represented how? As a man? Oh, no! it has a woman's form. As I pass the New York Statue of Liberty it seems as if there comes a message from those mute bronze lips saying, "The day will yet come when I shall light a republic whose sons and daughters will be equal sharers in the birthright I represent."

## Woman's Political Future — Address by Frances E. W. Harper of Virginia.

If before sin had cast its deepest shadows or sorrow had distilled its bitterest tears, it was true that it was not good for man to be alone, it is no less true, since the shadows have deepened and life's sorrows have increased, that the world has need of all the spiritual aid that woman can give for the social advancement and moral development of the human race. The tendency of the present age, with its restlessness, religious upheavals, failures, blunders, and crimes, is toward broader freedom, an increase of knowledge, the emancipation of thought, and a recognition of the brotherhood of man; in this movement woman, as the companion of man, must be a sharer. So close is the bond between man and woman that you can not raise one without lifting the other. The world can not move without woman's sharing in the movement, and to help give a right impetus to that movement is woman's highest privilege.

If the fifteenth century discovered America to the Old World, the nineteenth is discovering woman to herself. Little did Columbus imagine, when the New World broke upon his vision like a lovely gem in the coronet of the universe, the glorious possibilities of a land where the sun should be our engraver, the winged lightning our messenger, and steam our beast of burden. But as mind is more than matter, and the highest ideal always the true real, so to woman comes the opportunity to strive for richer and grander discoveries than ever gladdened the eye of the Genoese mariner.

Not the opportunity of discovering new worlds, but that of filling this old world with fairer and higher aims than the greed of gold and the lust of power, is hers. Through weary, wasting years men have destroyed, dashed in pieces, and overthrown, but to-day we stand on the threshold of

woman's era, and woman's work is grandly constructive. In her hand are possibilities whose use or abuse must tell upon the political life of the nation, and send their influence for good or evil across the track of unborn ages.

As the saffron tints and crimson flushes of morn herald the coming day, so the social and political advancement which woman has already gained bears the promise of the rising of the full-orbed sun of emancipation. The result will be not to make home less happy, but society more holy; yet I do not think the mere extension of the ballot a panacea for all the ills of our national life. What we need to-day is not simply more voters, but better voters. To-day there are red-handed men in our republic, who walk unwhipped of justice, who richly deserve to exchange the ballot of the freeman for the wristlets of the felon; brutal and cowardly men, who torture, burn, and lynch their fellow-men, men whose defenselessness should be their best defense and their weakness an ensign of protection. More than the changing of institutions we need the development of a national conscience, and the upbuilding of national character. Men may boast of the aristocracy of blood, may glory in the aristocracy of talent, and be proud of the aristocracy of wealth, but there is one aristocracy which must ever outrank them all, and that is the aristocracy of character; and it is the women of a country who help to mold its character, and to influence if not determine its destiny; and in the political future of our nation woman will not have done what she could if she does not endeavor to have our republic stand foremost among the nations of the earth, wearing sobriety as a crown and righteousness as a garment and a girdle. In coming into her political estate woman will find a mass of illiteracy to be dispelled. If knowledge is power, ignorance is also power. The power that educates wickedness may manipulate and dash against the pillars of any state when they are undermined and honeycombed by injustice.

I envy neither the heart nor the head of any legislator

who has been born to an inheritance of privileges, who has behind him ages of education, dominion, civilization, and Christianity, if he stands opposed to the passage of a national education bill, whose purpose is to secure education to the children of those who were born under the shadow of institutions which made it a crime to read.

To-day women hold in their hands influence and opportunity, and with these they have already opened doors which have been closed to others. By opening doors of labor woman has become a rival claimant for at least some of the wealth monopolized by her stronger brother. In the home she is the priestess, in society the queen, in literature she is a power, in legislative halls law-makers have responded to her appeals, and for her sake have humanized and liberalized their laws. The press has felt the impress of her hand. In the pews of the church she constitutes the majority; the pulpit has welcomed her, and in the school she has the blessed privilege of teaching children and youth. To her is apparently coming the added responsibility of political power; and what she now possesses should only be the means of preparing her to use the coming power for the glory of God and the good of mankind; for power without righteousness is one of the most dangerous forces in the world.

Political life in our country has plowed in muddy channels, and needs the infusion of clearer and cleaner waters. I am not sure that women are naturally so much better than men that they will clear the stream by the virtue of their womanhood; it is not through sex but through character that the best influence of women upon the life of the nation must be exerted.

I do not believe in unrestricted and universal suffrage for either men or women. I believe in moral and educational tests. I do not believe that the most ignorant and brutal man is better prepared to add value to the strength and durability of the government than the most cultured, upright, and intelligent woman. I do not think that willful

ignorance should swamp earnest intelligence at the ballot-box, nor that educated wickedness, violence, and fraud should cancel the votes of honest men. The unsteady hands of a drunkard can not cast the ballot of a freeman. The hands of lynchers are too red with blood to determine the political character of the government for even four short years. The ballot in the hands of woman means power added to influence. How well she will use that power I can not foretell. Great evils stare us in the face that need to be throttled by the combined power of an upright manhood and an enlightened womanhood; and I know that no nation can gain its full measure of enlightenment and happiness if one-half of it is free and the other half is fettered. China compressed the feet of her women and thereby retarded the steps of her men. The elements of a nation's weakness must ever be found at the hearthstone.

More than the increase of wealth, the power of armies, and the strength of fleets is the need of good homes, of good fathers, and good mothers.

The life of a Roman citizen was in danger in ancient Palestine, and men had bound themselves with a vow that they would eat nothing until they had killed the Apostle Paul. Pagan Rome threw around that imperiled life a bulwark of living clay consisting of four hundred and seventy human hearts, and Paul was saved. Surely the life of the humblest American citizen should be as well protected in America as that of a Roman citizen was in heathen Rome. A wrong done to the weak should be an insult to the strong. Woman coming into her kingdom will find enthroned three great evils, for whose overthrow she should be as strong in a love of justice and humanity as the warrior is in his might. She will find intemperance sending its flood of shame, and death, and sorrow to the homes of men, a fretting leprosy in our politics, and a blighting curse in our social life; th social evil sending to our streets women whose laughter sadder than their tears, who slide from the paths of sin a shame to the friendly shelter of the grave; and lawlessn

enacting in our republic deeds over which angels might weep, if heaven knows sympathy.

How can any woman send petitions to Russia against the horrors of Siberian prisons if, ages after the Inquisition has ceased to devise its tortures, she has not done all she could by influence, tongue, and pen to keep men from making bonfires of the bodies of real or supposed criminals?

O women of America! into your hands God has pressed one of the sublimest opportunities that ever came into the hands of the women of any race or people. It is yours to create a healthy public sentiment; to demand justice, simple justice, as the right of every race; to brand with everlasting infamy the lawless and brutal cowardice that lynches, burns, and tortures your own countrymen.

To grapple with the evils which threaten to undermine the strength of the nation and to lay magazines of powder under the cribs of future generations is no child's play.

Let the hearts of the women of the world respond to the song of the herald angels of peace on earth and good will to men. Let them throb as one heart unified by the grand and holy purpose of uplifting the human race, and humanity will breathe freer, and the world grow brighter. With such a purpose Eden would spring up in our path, and Paradise be around our way.

## DISCUSSION OF THE PRECEDING ADDRESS BY MARGARET WINDEYER OF AUSTRALIA, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WOMANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

To turn to the subject upon which I am supposed to speak, "Woman's Political Future," I would like to point out that women have no political present when they do not exercise the franchise. That is my view, because I can not conceive that the underhanded, secret influence which women try to have upon politicians is politics. It is not politics in the best sense; and it is an influence which we

ance societies, and began reforms of many kinds; they built fountains for the thirsty and planted shade-trees for the weary; they erected hospitals, orphan asylums, retreats in the cities, homes by the sea and on the hillside for waifs and overworked shop-girls; they established day nurseries and kindergartens for little children, and helped to endow colleges and universities for young men and women.

In these works of charity, philanthropy, and reform, woman's leadership is undisputed; but it is within a comparatively short time that these humanitarian questions have demanded public attention and legislative action. With the growth of population and its diverse character, numberless questions arise, in the solving of which women as well as men are greatly interested.

It is impossible for women to carry movements of social economics in their hearts and in their activities up to the point of the relations of these questions to the government and then suddenly let go their hold, and see these various objects of their solicitude lost in the whirlpool of politics, where, being disfranchised, women have no recognized place. It is too late in the century for women who have received the benefits of co-education in schools and colleges, and who bear their full share in the world's work, not to care who make the laws, who expound and who administer them. This is why American women are coming more and more to think and act on political questions. It should also be remembered that in this country a large part of the *wage-earners are women*. The questions of economics which are involved in the present industrial system affect them, and the wives and dependent children of men wage-earners.

Some of us are deeply interested in the vital problems of modern American life.

We find ourselves in the midst of conditions which were very recently wholly European. Mixed populations in crowded cities and colonies of foreigners distributed through the country give rise to apprehension in the minds of intelligent women. It is not possible, neither

would it be right, to attempt the wholesale exclusion of these foreigners. They are children of the Heavenly Father, whom we call "Our Father."

Some of our foreign-born citizens are of the noblest fiber; they have brought new luster to the stars, and brightness to the stripes of the dear old flag, but masses of others are the garbage of oriental and European civilizations, the windfalls of monarchical governments and deserters from imperialism and militarism. *They all vote*, and American women, the daughters and granddaughters of Revolutionary heroes, the mothers, the sisters, and the wives of a later generation of heroes, do not vote.

Behold an anomaly in free institutions! Nevertheless all the political interests that American women hold dear are at the mercy of a government thus constituted. Will women "sulk in their tents" because in the evolution of popular government they are not yet enfranchised? Patriotic women, conscious of love of country, and with the repose of self-respect which becomes their heredity and environment, will do the best they can through the agencies at their command.

George Washington said, one hundred years ago: "The preservation of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the American people." In this magnificent experiment *women are equally interested with men.*

The country needs the political work of woman to-day as much as it has ever needed woman in any other work at any other time. The Constitution provides the machinery of government. That great document has been tested in peace, in war, and through the reconstruction period. It awaits the final test of administration by a government representing a heterogeneous mass of citizens from every clime, many of whom are disqualified by heredity and environment for responsible citizenship.

Thoughtful women know that the nation is a grand

whole; that if one member suffers the whole suffers; that if one is blessed all are blessed. Women have no separate interests; if man is elevated and the general tone of society purified, woman receives her share of advantage. Whatever woman can do to help in American politics, by so much she hastens the time of her own recognition as a political equal.

The country has made immense strides in material development during the last quarter of a century. Huge commercial enterprises have arisen like giants in armor, and have strode from ocean to ocean, leaving tracks of steel and handprints of light.

The triumphs of mind over matter stamp this period illustrious among the centuries. Within this success there hides danger. The cultivation of one set of faculties tends to the disuse of others. The loss of one faculty sharpens others; the blind are sensitive to touch. Has not the extreme cultivation of the commercial faculty permitted others as essential to national life, to be blighted by disuse?

Out of the heart are the issues of life in politics as well as in religion. Women have much heart. Politics need heart.

Sentiment is the mightiest force in civilization; *not sentimentality*, but sentiment.

In the earlier years of the world's history, human needs demanded grosser forms of force, and these received man's homage. Woman, because of her physical structure, was incapacitated for preëminent service. She was either man's toy or his slave, as he was noble or brutish. Later, when he passed from the nomadic period, and sought an abiding-place under a roof instead of a tent, and developed municipal government, she ruled over temporal things in that home; she was not the companion of man's brain or heart, and therefore not a factor in his government. With the growth of human brotherhood, and its necessary correlative, popular government, woman, as a part of glorified humanity and elevated with its uplift, found herself side by side with man; his helper not only, as formerly, in things temporal.

but his companion in all things. To-day all forces in human existence and human relations have been exalted and refined. As far removed as is the beast of burden from the electrician's wire, so far is the woman of the earlier years from her sister of the twentieth century's dawn.

As the humanitarian idea has plowed its way through human history, woman has developed with that idea, and now her finer instincts, her keener intuitions, and her patient heart are the full complement of the robust masculinity which has conquered nature. The two united glorify humanity.

It is no longer a question of *man* or *woman*, but of quality of service, and of power to meet the world's need.

The ideal woman is no longer the pale, white lily of medieval romance; she is a living, breathing, thinking, doing human being — a well-equipped helpmeet in all life's activities. There is no grander science than that of politics, except the science of theology. How God governs the universe of mind and holds in his hand the universe of matter is the grandest theme the soul can contemplate; next in dignity are the principles and methods which control and apply human agencies to masses of citizens for the general good. This is political science. We pity the narrowness which can not comprehend the dignity of this study; we are patient with weakness which can not grasp it; we make no answer to those who ridicule it; but we give heart and hand in patriotic devotion to the women who reach out to know and to do large things for the home and for the flag.

There is another side of the question which should appeal to all women. None dispute woman's preëminence in the home, and a true woman desires most of all to be faithful there — to prepare the food, to make the garments, and to minister in the nursery to little children is the dream of youth and the blessed fruition of mature years; but to many a mother's heart has come the disappointment of a loss of power, a limitation of influence, when early manhood takes

the boy from the home, or when, even before that time, in school or elsewhere, he touches the great world and begins to be bewildered with its controversies, its trade, with questions of economics and politics.

The problems which vex philosophers and worry statesmen knock for admission at the door of his mind. Then, often, comes the mother's first sense of separation from her child. Disappointing is her answer if she is obliged to say, "My son, I do not know; you must ask somebody else." Sad indeed will be her heart if she finds that he soon learns to respect those outside the home more than he does his mother in the home, because his inquiries are answered elsewhere. Does the question come, "Where is father; is it not his duty to answer the boy's questionings?" To be sure it is; but fathers are burdened with the care of providing for the family. They must procure shelter, and food, and clothing. Too often these necessities drive out of sight and out of mind the boy's education, even in political matters. Mothers always have to do what others leave undone. Happy is that mother whose ability to help her child continues on from babyhood into youth, manhood, and maturity. Blessed is the son who need not leave his mother at the threshold of the world's activities, but may always and everywhere have her blessing and her help. Thrice blessed are the son and the mother between whom there exists an association not only physical and affectional, but spiritual and intellectual, and broad and wide as is the scope of the being of each. Let no woman fear such association. Let her covet it as a gem in the crown of her maternity. In infancy and babyhood the mother holds her son by her affection and his necessity; in young manhood and maturity the ideal relation is a union so fine and close that touch of brain and thrill of nerve best illustrate it. Such mothers and such sons shall bring to the nation, which is only the larger home, a priceless benediction.

We contend, therefore, that woman's relation to politics and her leadership therein are justified by the very ele-

ments of her nature; by her relation to the human family, as wife, as mother, as the mother of citizens, as a wage-earner, as a philanthropist, and as a Christian. When the political power involved in these relations is obtained, the ideal social state will be set up.

THE REV. EUGENIA T. ST. JOHN OF KANSAS, INTRODUCING THE DISCUSSION ON THE PRECEDING ADDRESS, SAID:

"To-day women as well as men are capable of studying and understanding constitutional law, and all the functions and forms of government." She spoke of the numerous organizations of women in her own and other States formed for the study of the science of government; she eulogized the loyalty of women; referred to their capacity for diplomacy, and expressed her conviction that the administration of public affairs would be improved, not only by the ballot in the hands of women, but also by women's sharing the offices with men. She drew illustrations from the history of the suffrage movement in her own State, where women have shown the ability to draw up bills, and to secure their adoption by legislatures of men. She described the methods of a new organization, now formed in every county in Kansas, under the name of the "Parliamentary Drill," in which women are learning, and, in many instances, teaching to young men who have had less time and less opportunity than themselves for such study, parliamentary usage and the principles on which it rests; and with this are combining the study of the municipal laws and of the organic and statute laws of their State. She spoke of the compilation of the statutes of Kansas, prepared by a woman for the instruction of the wives of farmers and tradesmen; she said that often this work, which aspired to teach only women, was referred to as an authority by politicians.

THE DISCUSSION WAS THUS CONCLUDED BY MARY FROST ORMSBY OF NEW YORK, PRESIDENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC INFLUENCE CLUBS.

There was a time among the nomadic tribes when women were the equal of men in every political and national consideration.

The subjugation of woman is described in the Book of Esther. In the matriarchal, prehistoric times the mother, or woman, controlled everything. The Egyptians during the time of their greatness recognized the equality of woman. Their preëminence over the rest of the world at that time is doubtless due largely to this greater freedom and development of the mothers of their race; but they were conquered by the Persians and brought under the cruel Ahasuerus, and during his reign the comparative equality of women was lost.

After the long night of barbarism and of subjugation came the Christian religion, reviving past liberty, and greatly increasing it; hence the wonderful spread of Christianity. After the dawn of the Christian Era, the honorable wife of the Roman was no longer confined to the house and kept in ignorance.

In Rome, during the three centuries in which her glory was at its height, the Roman women became more and more men's equals, and the famous matrons of Rome, who are held up as models by the ignoramuses of to-day in their attempt to rebuke the women of brains and capacity of this era, were themselves strong-minded women in every sense of the phrase. The crowning gem of Roman womanhood, the illustrious Cornelia, who is immortal in history as having reared the two grandest statesmen of all Rome's twelve centuries, who in speaking of these sons called them her "chief jewels," was herself a strong-minded woman in the exact modern sense. She was a public speaker; her lectures were crowded, and so great was her power as a

politician that men, after the murder of both of her freedom-loving sons, came to her for advice in politics. She held practically a court of her own, and the ambassadors of all countries who came to Rome were especially instructed to secure and keep her good-will.

France has always shown its appreciation of woman's power. From the time of the early Gauls down through the ages Frenchwomen have done much to make French history. Jeanne d'Arc, Madame de Staël, Charlotte Corday, and legions of other equally noted women have done much for France, and hence Bartholdi when he sculptured the Statue of Liberty holding the torch that would enlighten the world placed this torch in the hands of a woman.

There is unrest now in the world of thought. New public policies are being tried; new thoughts and new inventions are rife. In this epoch there are many perils to our beloved country.

It is most fitting that philanthropic women should contemplate with intense solicitude the fact that to-day seventy thousand women in New York City alone work for less than three dollars per week, and from this pittance feed and clothe themselves, and often share their salary with the other members of their family. It can also be stated, with equal truth, that seventy-five thousand women by their labor, either physical or mental, support the dependent male members of their respective families. In this reckoning the men who have married rich wives, and thereby increased their revenues, are not counted. If I may be allowed to say something personal, as it bears on the question, I will state that it was with the hope of being able to assist in the amelioration of some of these wrongs that I was induced to form the National Union of Democratic Influence Clubs.

The national society is chartered in Washington, D. C., for twenty years, and there are branch societies in many different States with active and influential members.

The Democratic leaders have tendered us their thanks

and appreciation for our good work done, and letters expressive of such sentiments from Gen. Don M. Dickinson, Hon. William F. Harrity, Mr. Croker, the Tammany leader, Senator McClelland, and many others, are in the possession of the president.

*Influence* was all women had to offer. We wished to show our brothers that we could so wield that power for good that they would say, "Sisters, take the ballot."

* * *

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**America Through Women's Eyes.** Edited by Mary R. Beard (New York: The Macmillan Company; $3.50). The title of Mrs. Beard's volume, of which she modestly calls herself merely the editor, is most inviting. Who would not like to know what the distinctively feminine attitude toward American life may be? Mrs. Beard's work does not quite justify the title. What she does succeed in showing very clearly is that women, whether as home-builders or as representatives of various other enterprises, have exerted enormous influence throughout the centuries and not merely since the rise of feminism. "Makers of modern history-books," says the author, "usually frame their narratives and social patterns as if there were but one world, the 'man's world,' shaped by military leaders, politicians, and business adventurers." Even feminists, she says, "generally entertain this half-view of reality." It is time, she thinks, that such a view should be corrected in the minds of both sexes. So in support of her thesis she furnishes a remarkably interesting selection of letters, journals, and articles reflecting women's activities.

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